THE EPISTLE CONGRATULATORIE OF Lyſimachus Nicanor

Of the Societie of JESU,

TO THE

COVENANTERS IN SCOTLAND.

VVherin is paralleled our ſweet Harmony and correſpondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice.

JUDG. V. XXIII.

Curſe ye Meroz (ſaid the Angel of the Lord) curſe ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof: becauſe they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord againſt the Mightie.

JER. I. X.

See, I have this day ſet thee over the Nations, and over the Kingdomes, to root out, and to pull down, and to deſtroy, and to throw downe, to build, and to plant.

Anno Domini M. DC. XL.

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LYSIMACHUS NICANOR
of the Societie of JESU,
TO THE COVENANTERS IN SCOTLAND,
Wiſheth full Union and Peace with us.

Doe heartily congratulate with you (*moſt worthy Brethren of the holy League*) and alſo rejoyce in behalfe of our Mother-Church of *Rome* at your begun returne from your former errors and hereſies. This puts us in expectation, that ſhortly your return ſhall be full: for ſeeing in ſo ſhort time, and with ſo good ſucceſſe, you have forſaken the former erroneous Doctrine of the *Proteſtants* concerning the *Civill Magiſtrate*, and have happily joyned with us, you wil alſo betimes abjure all that yet remaineth. You have ſo well begun at the *Head*, the *Civill Magiſtrate*, that wee truſt you ſhall embrace the remanent members of our doctrine with a continued ſucceſſe, whereof you may juſtly glory.

Quod fortuna ratum faciat, quis dicere falſum
Audeat, & tanta ſuffragia vincere ſortis?

I remember the ſalutation that was given to the Scots Protector (who is now our holy Father *Pope Urbanus*) about the time of his inauguration and conſecration to be Pope, *Salve Protector Scotorum*, and of his anſwer, *Agnoſco nomen & omen*: And now hee is more ready to protect you then ever hee was, ſince you draw ſo neere unto him. And yet at your laſt defection to your King againe at the Camp, wee feared your revolt to your rejected Proteſtant doctrine: but this your laſt Proteſtation, wherein you recollect your ſtrength, puts us in hope that you will not returne to your vomit. 1 *Julii*, 1639.

And albeit the Anticovenanters thinke you ſo neere the height of impiety, that they ſay,

Nil erit ulterius quod veſtris moribus addat
Poſteritas.

Yet we thinke it is praiſe worthy that you are come to ſuch degrees of perfection, that your poſterity ſhall be ſo farre from out-ſtripping you, that they, imitating you, ſhall take you for their pattern. To them it ſhall be ſufficient glory (ſeeing they cannot go beyond you) to doe the ſame things which you have done: *eadem capient facient q; minores.* And therefore you do moſt prudently in your *Proteſtations* defend your Covenanting *without* and *againſt* Authority, leſt acknowledging a fault herein you ſhould defraud your poſterity of the like remedy; or to uſe your owne words, *You ſhould precondemne alſo the like laudable courſe in the like neceſsity to be taken by the Poſterity.* And therefore it is your wildome to ſtand to the juſtification of all your proceedings, and to refuſe an Act of *Oblivion*, and accept of no leſſe then an Act of *Juſtification.* It is ſo farre from being a fault which you have done, in taking the Kings Caſtles, and thruſting out his other ſubjects out of their houſes, with your other actions that it is rather a *meritorious work*; and therefore you ſay well, *We deſerve and expect approbation and thanks from his Majeſty in his own due time, for keeping his evill Counſellers and bad Patriots from putting hand in his beſt ſubjects.* And in your laſt Petition to his Majeſty after your Aſſembly, to deſire your King to approve of your proceedings, you ſay, that *you are aſſured of his juſtification of your actions, and that you are afraid you ſhould bee thought to have offended in nothing ſo much as in Lenity.*

Proteſtat. in Sept. 1638. *Reaſ. 5.*

Proteſt. 18. Decemb. 1638

The *Anticovenanters* are no more offended with your writ & printed Books, (which they call infamous Libells and Jeſuiticall Paſquils) then they doe pleaſe us, not that wee delight in your contention; as the *Vultur* in the Apologie beheld the ſtrife of the *Lion* & the *Bore*, to ſnatch the prey from both parties, but with an aſſured hope that within ſhort time you ſhall become our *fratres fraterrimi*, for your writings & actions promiſe no leſs; as being moſt conducible for our ends, & grounded upon our arguments. You ſhall do us no ſmall pleaſure, if you

will cauſe to be drawn up ſuch heads of Doctrine, wherin we do now of late agree, that ſetting thoſe apart, as *not controverted*, wee may conferre with you in that wherein as yet wee *differ*: and in the mean time, as by your diligent peruſall of our books, our ſtrong reaſons have prevailed with you, ſo I pray you be inſtant in reading of them: which I hope ſhall produce the like effect in that which remaineth. For a preparative to this work, I will thankfully remember (ſo farre as my weak memory will ſerve) ſome points, which by hearing and reading your papers, I find firſt to be *ours*, and from us wiſely received by *you*.

First, your diſlike of *Monarchical government* doth pleaſe us very well; for wee diſlike it ſo much, that (to ſpeak this under the Roſe) we cannot ſimply grant it to the Pope himſelfe, but with ſuch reſtrictions and limitations, that what we grant him now, we may take it from him the next day to our ſelves, as I might inſtance in many particulars; but eſpecially in his *infallibility* and *temporall power*; which we give him with ſuch diſtinctions & limitations (if you will conſider our books) that we intend for *our ſelves*, that which we give him. But more eſpecially we agree with you in contemning the *Monarchicall government* of the *civill Magiſtrate*: for as wee ſay by that great pillar of our Church, Cardinal *Bellarmine*: *Hac gubernatio id requirit, ut ſit quidam in republica ſummus aliquis Princeps qui & omnibus imperet, & nulli ſubjiciatur*, that is, This government requireth this, that there ſhould be indeed in the republick ſome Prince that is Supreme, both to command all, & be ſubject to none. For this government hath this great inconvenience, that when the Prince doth wrong his ſubjects (as you proteſt your King doth you) there is no remedy but *patience*; for why, all the Judges under him are but his *Deputies*, and all the power & authority they have of the *Sword*, is the *Kings*, & it can never ſtand with ſenſe or reaſon, that his Majeſties *owne Power* & *Authority* can be uſed againſt *Himſelfe*. And hence it is that Princes being *Legiſlators*, are above their Lawes, & may diſpence with them as they think expedient. To this purpoſe ſayes the Prince of the Schoolmen, *Princeps non obligatur ſuis legibus, quia nemo ſibi imperat, & ſibi ipſi legē imponit; A Prince is not bound to his own laws, becauſe no man doth command*

I.

Bellar. de Rom. Pont. li. 1. ca. 3.

Thom. quæſt. 93. a. 5.

mand himſelf, or impoſe a Law on himſelfe. Though this ſeeme ſtrange to ignorant men, yet it is moſt true, and therefore conſider it well, for its grounded upon good reaſon: for the Law is given by a *Superior* to an *Inferior*, and no man can be *inferior* to himſelfe, and ſo can give no Law to himſelfe; and ſince he can give no Law to himſelfe, none of his Lawes can oblige him.

But what? ſhall he be an *Exlex*, a lawleſſe man then? I anſwer with the Schoolmen in two Aphoriſmes. I. *Princeps non poteſt ſervare legem ſuam ex affectu obedientiæ, quia nullum agnoſcit Superiorem in republica: ſed tantum ex affectu illius virtutis, in cujus materia collocatur id quod legeſt autum eſt:* The Prince cannot keep his owne Law, out of the affection of Obedience, becauſe he acknowledgeth none in the republike to be Superior to him: But only he can keep his Law, out of the affection he hath to that vertue, in the matter wherof, that which is ordained by Law, is placed. II. Aphoriſme. *Princeps tenetur quoad vim directivam, non quoad coactivam, ac proinde tametſi peccet contra ſuam legem, non tamen ſit reus pœnæ per legem impoſitæ, quia nemo poteſt legitimè puniri niſi a Superiori.* The Prince is bound to his Lawes in ſo far as they have a vertue to direct him, but not as they have any coactive power. And therefore albeit he tranſgreſſe his Lawes, yet hee doth not become guilty of the *puniſhment* of the Law, becauſe no man can be puniſhed lawfully, but by his *Superior*. For this cauſe, that ſaying of *Cyrillus* is remarkable, *Nemo leges regum impunè reprobat, niſi reges ipſi; in quibus prævaricationis crimen locum non habet. Prudenter enim dictum eſt, impium eſſe, qui dixerit regi, Iniquè agis.* No man can reject the Laws of Kings without puniſhment, but Kings themſelves, in whom the crime of their tranſgreſſion hath no place: for it is wiſely ſaid, that hè is an ungodly man who ſhall ſay to the King, Thou doſt wickedly. As this is the judgement of the Fathers and Moderne Divines, ſo is it the common judgement of all the Schoolemen, as they ſay themſelves.

Thom. loc. cit. Suarez. lib. 3. cap. 35. Layman. lib. 1. De legib. cap. 9. Decan. cap. 6. de lege humana. quæſt. 12. Syl. cit. quæſt. 14. Vaſquez. cit. cap. 3.

Therefore ſince in Monarchicall government, the ſupreme Prince hath ſuch abſolute power, it were well done to change it into a *mixt* government. If we had ſuffered the Roman Emperour to remaine an *abſolute Monarch*, (as you do your King)

we

we had never gotten so much of our wils, and his Holineſſe the Pope would have been hindered from the fruition of his lawfull *ſupremacie* over Emperors: and if you ſhall endure this your government, it will bee a great impediment to the *ends* you aime at. For this cauſe, *regimen temperatum ex Monarchia, Ariſtocratia, & Democratia mitius eſt*: its a more milde government that is mixt of Monarchie, Ariſtocracie, and Democracie. You doe well then to aime at it, for it is our advice. *Bellarmine* in that ſame place ſpeaketh home to you: *Præſides provinciarum vel civitatum ne ſint regis vicarii, aut annui judices, ſed veri principes; qui & imperio ſummi principis obediant, & interim provinciam vel civitatem ſuam non tanquam alienam, ſed ut propriam moderentur.* Let not the Preſidents of Provinces, or cities be the Kings deputies, or yeerely Judges, but let them be true Princes; who may both be obedient to the command of their chiefe Prince, and in the meane time govern their province or citie, not as it were another mans, but as their owne; by this meanes, both a kinde of Monarchie, Ariſtocracie, and Democracie may have place in the republicke. *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 1. c. 3.*

Proceed therefore to the perfecting the good work which you have begun. Conſider the power you have had, as abſolute Lords over your Tenants, and as *Princes and Chiefe* over your *Clans*, every one of you being *little Kings*, like *Dionyſius Corinthi*, commanding and ruling your Vaſſals, as you pleaſed; but ſee now how it is abridged by a new form of juſtice, by introducing *Juſtice of peace*, &c. Which (to ſay the truth) though it tend to the ſettlement and peace of the Kingdome, yet it mainly oppoſeth your former domineering, & makes your Vaſſals look more to *the King and his Lawes, then to you and your commands.* It is certain by our well grounded principles, that there is no reaſon that your King of Scotland ſhould be a more abſolute Monarch then the Emperor of Rome; he is not like your King an *abſolute Prince by ſucceſſion*; but a *conditionall* prince by *election*; tyed by ſuch ſtrict conditions, which if he tranſgreſſe, he may be thruſt from them. For firſt, the Prince Electors may chuſe whom they pleaſe to be Emperors, by their Emperiall Lawes. Secondly, the Princes Electors have power to judge and cognoſce upon the Emperors faults. Thirdly, if they finde him worthy

worthy of depoſition, they may depoſe him. And by the Emperour Elect his own conſent, it is ſtatute and ordained, that if the Princes Electors, or the whole body of the Kingdome ſhall withſtand, or take arms againſt the Emperour, it ſhalbe accounted lawfull without any crime of *rebellion. Ex ſanctione Henrici 7. & aurea bulla Caroli 4. & capitulatione Cæſarea.* Read this capitulation in *Melchior Goladaſt. tom. 3. pag. 424.* which is thus, *Quòd ſi nos ipſi, (inquit Imperator) quod abſit, aut quiſquam ſucceſſorũ noſtrorum, quod non ſperamus proceſſu temporis aliquo, huic noſtræ ſtatutioni, aut ordinationi contravenire voluerit, aut eam retractare, aut alio quovis modo violare præſumſerit: præſentium literarũ autoritate, quas mera noſtra autoritate, & poteſtatis regiæ plenitudine, ex certa noſtra Majeſtatis ſcientia, nec non cum conſenſu & bene placito præfatorum ſacri Romani imperii principum Electorum, in robur perpetuæ firmitatis ſancivimus, ex tunc tam ipſi Electores quam cæteri Principes, eccleſiaſtici & ſæculares, prælati, comites, barones, nobiles & communitates ſacri noſtri imperii, univerſi ac ſinguli præſentes & futuri, licitum habeant ſine rebellionis aut infidelitatis crimine reſiſtendi ac contradicendi nobis, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, Romanorum regibus, vel imperatoribus, in perpetuam libertatem.*

And I wil aſſure you, his Holineſſe the Pope was not ſleeping when the Emperour was thus clogged: and albeit it may bee thought that this change of ſimple Monarchy in this mixt government hath beene a chiefe ground of all the bloudy war of Germany this long time by-gone, which would not have bin if it had remained an abſolute Monarchy: for while it ſo continued an abſolute Monarchie in the Primitive Church, their plea was, *Rogamus Cæſar, non pugnamus:* and, *aliter nec debeo, nec poſſum reſiſtere.* Yet let not this trouble Us: for herein is fulfil'd the prophecy of Chriſt, while he ſaid, *He came not to ſend peace, but the ſword.* And againe, this change is neceſſary, for elſe his Holineſs the Pope ſhould be ſubject to the Emperor, according to that of *Paul, Let every ſoul be ſubject to ſuperior powers:* which he neither is nor ought to be. And therefore *Bernard* is herein deceived himſelfe, while he makes this a generall rule without exception, ſaying, *Qui conatur ab hac regula excipere, conatur decipere:*

Anabteſerat. contra Auxent.

Rom. 13. 1.

Bernard. Epiſt. 42.

decipere: for both *Pope* with us, and *people* with you must bee excepted. The Church of God hath ſufferd too much already in the Primitive times, ſhe hath been too long in the *Category of Paſſion*, crying with teares, *Oramus, non pugnamus*; ſhe ought now to be in the *predicament of action*, with *Pugnamus & oramus*, holding (that I may uſe your own words) *a ſupplication in the one hand, and a ſword in the other*. To this purpoſe Maſter *Andrew Ramſey*, Miniſter of *Edenburgh*, ſaid pretty well, that it was Gods will that the Primitive Church ſhould confirme the truth by *ſuffering*, and that now the truth being confirmed, its his will that we defend the truth by *action*, in reſiſting tyrants; and what war is better than that which is for Religion? But here an *Anticovenanter* wil reply perchance, & ſay, Where did ever any ſuffer under tyrants for defending of your Presbyteriall government of active or ruling-Elders, and of paſſive or ruled-Elders? which had its firſt beginning from *Calvin* in ſome ſort; but as you have it, it was never in the world till the yeer 1638. For in *Geneva* it is only propet to the *ſupreme Magiſtrate* to chuſe the *Lay-elders*: for they are only Commiſſioners for the *Seigniory*, neither hath the *Miniſter* any voice in their Election, much leſſe the *Multitude*: and all that *Calvin* gave them, is *præeſſe moribus*, and in Church matters they are called *ad conſilia*, but not *ad conſenſum*. But now in Scotland, not only the whole Church takes the *ſupreme power* to it ſelfe, but alſo every pariſh takes upon it to be an *abſolute independent ſociety*, quite contrary to the practice of *Geneva*, chuſing their Miniſters and Elders alſo without number, and to thoſe Elders *equall power* is given with the Miniſter, in Presbyteries and Aſſemblies, in giving *deciſive* ſentence in matters of faith, and deciding of controverſies, whereof, God knowes, they are moſt ignorant: and in a word, they want nothing of the power of the Miniſter, but that they preach not, nor baptiſe in publike congregations: & yet its common to ſee *Lay-men* among them in private Conventicles to take upon them the calling of a Miniſter in preaching and praying. Or where did any at any time ſuffer for abjuring Epiſcopacie as an antichriſtian government? ſo this being a truth never yet confirmed by *ſuffering*, muſt not now be defended by *reſiſting*, according to *Ramſeys* own rule,

but being an Article of his negative faith, it muſt firſt be confirmed by ſuffering. I would enquire then (ſayes the Anticovenanter) of *Ramſey*, if he dare ſuffer for it, and be the *Protomartyr* in this cauſe? but he would be like the man that came to the marriage without the wedding garment, *dumb and ſpeechleſſe*. Or if he ſpeake, it would be negative like his faith, ſaying with *Athanaſius*, *Quod non à patribus profectum eſt, ſed nuper inventum, quid de eo aliud exiſtimari debeat, quam illud ipſum cujus Paulus mentionem facit*, 1 Timoth. 4. 1.

But finding my ſelf digreſſing, I will return to the point which I was about, concerning government. Seeing this mixt government is moſt conducible for your ends, it were requiſite that your Nobles would aſſume to themſelves *Princely Authoritie* (as is thought ſome of you have done) & make progreſſe in this good work. For (let me ſpeak it between me and you) till your Kings government be changed, you ſhall never lawfully reſiſt him. For I have peruſed all your Divines, & find them all condemning the lawfulneſs of reſiſting ſuch a King as yours is: but at the moſt they hold it lawfull *in ſome caſes* only to reſiſt *conventionall* or *conditionall Princes*. Hence it was that the Miniſters of *Wittenberge* were moſt oppoſite to our doctrine of *reſiſting Princes*, in their publike ſermons, but when they beheld upon what expreſſe *conditions* the Emperour was *elected* to the Empire, to the which hee was not *borne*, then they ſaid, *Docuimus quidem hactenus nullo modo reſiſtendum eſſe Magiſtratui, ignoravimus verò ex legum civilium præſcripto, id in certis quibuſdam caſibus etiam legitimè fieri poſſe*. We have hitherto taught that the Magiſtrate by no manner of way ought to be reſiſted: for we did not know that by the preſcript of the civill law it might in ſome certain caſes be lawfully done. So *Pareus* (as you know) was the laſt that wrote upon that ſubject, whoſe opinion when it was condemned by your learned Divines; his ſon *Philippus Pareus*, purpoſing to defend his fathers opinion, yeelds his ſword, and giveth over the combate, even at the entrie, in thoſe words: *Loquitur enim D. parens meus, ut & Theologi cæteri juxta cum politicis & juriſconſultis iis quorum ſententiam ac judicium in hoc argumento ſequutus eſt parens noſter, non de rege abſoluta poteſtate in-*

Epiſt. Miniſt. Wittenb.

Append. ad 13. ad Rom.

induto, ſed de principibus ſub conditione admiſſis. That is, my father, and the reſt of the Theologues, Politicians and Juriſconſults, whoſe ſentence & judgement in this argument my father hath followed, doe not ſpeake of a King endued with *abſolute power*, but of Princes who are *conditionally* admitted. And therefore if you would make any lawfull reſiſtance for time to come, its moſt neceſſarie that you labour for a change of government now, and make your ſelves free. We have Scripture for us, *But if thou mayeſt be made free, uſe it rather.* *Claudian* did but deceive himſelf, neither can I endure him while he ſaies 1 Cor. 7. 26.

Fallitur egregio quiſquis ſub principe credit
Servitium: nunquam Libertus gratior extat
Quam ſub rege pio.

Nay, I ſay, *Quam ſub rege meo*, ſuch a King as is *mine*; ſo *mine* that I may un-make him againe, whom I have made *mine*. Try this at your Parliament, ſee if your King will yeeld to this order which I have told you of the Roman Emperour, to *ſubject* himſelf to you his Subjects, that the *Majeſty* may reſide in you; *Audentes fortuna juvat.* Your ſucceſſe may bee gloried of. Your King hath yeelded ſo much unto you, that you may bee confident to have this yeelded alſo. If he had been a mercileſſe Tyrant, he had been ſo farre from granting you all your Petitions, that he might have impoſed moe burthens upon you, who did refuſe obedience to that which is judged by all your prime Doctors to be lawful. Thus thoſe two famous Doctors of yours *Gualter* & *Bullinger* did write in an Epiſtle ſent to the Schiſmaticks in England, who had oppoſed themſelves, as yoe do, to the Service-book of England. *If in caſe* (ſay they) *any of the people be perſwaded that thoſe things ſavour of Poperie, let them be taught the contrary, and perfectly inſtructed therein: and if ſo be, through the importunate crying out hereupon before the people by ſome men, many be diſquieted; let them beware that do ſo, that they bring no greater yoke upon their own necks, and provoke Queen* Elizabeth *her Majeſty, and bring many Miniſters in ſuch danger, as they cannot rid themſelves again.*

I will ſhew you an example hereof, which fell out in Germanie at *Magdeburge*, and within the Territories of *Marqueſſe Albertus*. The Prince required the Miniſters to follow

the whole booke of Auguſtan's confeſſion, where is a Liturgie that hath all that is in yours, which you have condemned; but ſome moe ceremonies, and doth retain the name of the Maſſe-booke. Refuſall thereof was made by the Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters, and Citizens, even as ſome of all this ranke among you have done. The Court hereon ran upon another deliberation, propoſing Articles, which doe not alter the doctrine and Liturgie, but thruſt upon them moe Ceremonies (*which yet howſoever may well enough be borne*, ſayes *Melanction*, whom you call the light of Germanie) adding withall a threatning, that they who will not follow this preſcription, ſhould depart the Land. Upon this ſome too forward Miniſters, affirmed, *It were good to affright the Court with ſome terrible writing: with the feare of Sedition, and with this Scare-crow to repreſſe and hinder further alteration. Illiricus Flaccius* was chiefe man, the *Demetrius* in this uproare, crying out (as your Miniſters did) *That rather deſolation ſhould bee made of the Church*: and, *Princes are to be frighted with terror of Inſurrection.* But for my part (ſaid *Melanction*) *I will be author of no ſuch ſoure advice.* Whereupon the reſt of the Miniſters did ſlander *Melanction* (as *Anticovenanters* ſay you doe them) as Popiſhly affected, and was upon the plot to reduce Poperie, and wrote to *Calvin* to this effect. But truly I am of *Beza's* opinion, that they accuſed him *without cauſe*, as afterward *Calvin* knew more truely. For (ſayes *Beza*) *at the beginning it was not knowne with what intention that evill ſpirit, and whole Troup of the Flaccinians raiſed ſo many tumults, and now at this time doth hinder the work of God againſt Papiſts.* Thus *Beza.*

Conſil. Melan. part. 2. pag. 90. 91. 106.

Beza in vita Calvin. anno. 1540.

And it is true indeed, that the *Flaccinians*, who thus did combine againſt their Prince, did more advance our cauſe, then *Melanction*, and the remanent of your Doctors; whoſe judgement was, that the Church ſhould not be troubled by refuſing the Service-book; and (as *Melanctons* words are) *to wrangle about a Surpleſſe, or the like matter; where wiſe men will exclaime againſt us, that wee withſtand and diſobey Authority, and nouriſh contention with a fooliſh forwardneſſe.*

Now ſeeing it hath pleaſed your King to deale thus with you, to lay *no heavier burdens* upon you, who have complained of

of a *light one*: but to grant you all that hitherto you have petitioned; ſee if you can obtaine of him a change of the government. But I pray you, doe it with great prudence and circumſpection, laying ſuch grounds, as you may firmely build upon them. For, if at the firſt you declare your ſelfe, and ſay plainely; Sir, wee deſire your government changed, he will refile, and not grant it: and to proceed ſuddenly from one extremity to another, is difficult. Therefore firſt of all, by ſuch faire wayes as you can, bee inſtant to take from him his *negative voyce* in Synods and Parliaments, which is a thing ſo eſſentiall to Soveraignetie, that it ſtandeth and falleth with it. For he being deſtitute of this Pillar, if in Parliaments by plurality of voyces it be carried, that you will not *have this man to raign over you*, of neceſſity he muſt be gone. Secondly, ſee if you can take from him the *power of making Lawes*, and let the Parliament and Synods be the *Law-makers*. You have taken this *de facto* already in your large proteſtation, in *Septemb.* 1638. where you ſay in expreſſe terms, *that the Parliament and Synod are the Law-makers, and the Law-interpreters*. As you have it *de facto*, ſee if you can get it *de jure*, eſtabliſhed by Law, which if you obtaine, you may thinke you have attained your end: for, if not the King, but Parliament and Synods be the *Legiſlators*, hee muſt be ſubject to ſuch Laws as it ſhall pleaſe them to make, who are the two *Supreme judicatories*, to which in your proteſtation you appeale, from the King and his Councell: thus ſubjecting your King to Parliament and Synod, which is a thing that he can hardly ſuffer. But to pleaſe him withall, appoint him to be the *Executioner* of the Laws, and ſo let him have the name of a King. But it may be, that if he have no more but the execution of your Lawes, that he ſhall rid himſelfe of that too, if you grant him no more power; becauſe men will ſay, He is *not your King, but your Officer, or Hi &c.* Thirdly, if ſo be, that hee ſhall bee content with what portion of authority *you judge* ſufficient, take heede that hee fall not upon you who have thus curbed him, and execute the laws againſt you: and therefore to make all cock ſure, becauſe he cannot doe all by himſelfe, but muſt have Officers under him; let this be granted to you alſo, to be *Chuſers of his Officers*, and

let those be such as you know most expedient for you: and so they shall be rather *your men* then *His*. I heard that all this was motioned by you, but you have not shewne me what successe it hath taken.

II. I have dwelt long upon this necessary point of the change of Government, and therefore I proceede to a second head, whereinto wee fully conspire, and it is a very fit preparative to this intended change. And I cannot but applaud you for rejecting that former errour, to defend that Kings are of *Divine institution*, and doe now hold with us, that they are of *humane institution by positive Lawes*. *In regnis hominum potestas Regis est à populo, quia populus facit Regem.* In the Kingdome of men, the power of the King is from the people, saies *Bellarmine*, and commends Navarre, *Qui non dubitat affirmare, nunquam populum ita potestatem suam in regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, ut in certis quibusdam casibus etiam* * *actu recipere possit*. Who doth not doubt to say, that the people did never so transferre their power to the King, but they did retaine it *habitually* themselves; so that in certaine cases they may *actually* take it from him againe. Let all Protestant Doctors condemne this yet let it never repent you to have received light from us: The best works that ever *Augustine* wrote, were the bookes of *retractations*; and the best workes that you can doe, is to forsake your errors. You say the *people makes the Magistrate, and may be without him, and have been many a yeere without him*. The *Majesty* doth remain in the *people*, and therefore, as it is said in the Gospel, *May I not doe with my owne what I please?* So say we, *Potestas immediatè est tanquam in subjecto in tota multitudine, & si causa legitimè adsit, potest multitudo mutare regnum in Aristocratiam & Democratiam*. The power is *immediately*, as in the *subject*, in the multitude, and if there be a lawfull cause, the multitude may change the Kingdome into an Aristocracie, or Democracie. When the King becommeth an enemy to the Common wealth, hee ought to be removed, *Melius est ut pereat unus, quam unitas*. And therefore you may not without reason say (as in your Sions Plea) to his Majesty, *Wee must not lose you, and the Kingdome,*

Covenanters inform. for Defensive. arg 3.

Bell. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 19.

* *Alias Astu.*

Bell. de cleric. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Kingdome, by preferring your fancies, and grounndleſſe affecti-ons, before ſound reaſon. You ſhould complaine to the heart that the head is much diſtempered; The Lyon muſt be cured of the Kings evill. The Potter may deſtroy the veſſell which hee hath made himſelfe. (But I pray you let this be ſpoken under the Roſe; for if we too much divulge it, it will make both you and us moſt odious to all princes, who will keepe us at ſuch a low ebbe, that we ſhall never be able to riſe againſt them when we thinke it neceſſary.) When the ſhepheard becommeth a Wolfe, let the dogs chaſe him away: hee is for the people, and the people is not for him, when he turnes to their hurt, let one who is for their good bee put in his place: for you know who ſaid, *Virtuti, non generi debetur regnum.* And it is better to have Kings by *election* then *ſucceſsion*. And therefore you doe moſt learnedly reaſon from the *unreaſonableneſs and abſurdities of thoſe Court Paraſites* (in your learned informations for Defenſive armes againſt the King) *who attribute ſuch illimited power to their Kings, that they looſe all the bonds of civill ſociety againſt all the bonds of oathes and lawes; ſuffering the Prince to doe what hee pleaſeth, to the ruine of Religion, the Church and Kingdome, and the people ſhall do nothing but ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred, or elſe flie, which is impoſſible.* In parallel to this we ſay thus: *The danger is ſo evident & inevitable, that God hath not ſufficiently provided for our ſalvation and the preſervation of the Church and holy Lawes, if there were no way to reſtraine ſuch wicked Princes, &c.* this were (as you ſay) *to expone all to the fury of the Prince* And therfore we conclude in the ſame place with thoſe words, *The bond and obligation wee have entered into for the ſervice of Chriſt and his Church, far exceeds all other duties which we owe to any humane creature; & therefore where the obedience to the inferiour hindereth the ſervice of the other which is ſuperiour, we muſt by law and order diſcharge our ſelves of the inferiour.* This our concluſion is moſt conſonant to the words and ſenſe of your ſecond and fourth argument for war.

Covenanters inform. for Defenſive-arg. 1.

Defence of English Catho. cap. 5.

Loco citato.

Ibid.

Covenanters inform. for Defenſive.

And ſince you were put to this neceſſity to take up armes for your defence, notwithſtanding of your Kings *ſpecioum-prentences*, who could condemne you to preſſe and urge the people

Covenanters in form for Defensive. § 7.

people, by your reasons to take up armes, to resist the violence of your King, who was *furiously invading you*, as you say? and to thrust all away from their places that did withstand you, as traitors to you, the Church and Countrey, and unworthy of your *society*. I do not regard, neither need you to be offended at that idle speech of *Sigebert*; neither would I heare him, if he did not aske leave of all good men (from which number I will not be excluded) to speake, while he sayes thus, *To speak with the leave of all good men, this onely novelty, I will not say heresie, was not crept into the world (before the dayes of* Hellde-brand) *that Priests should teach the people that they owe no subjection to evill Kings, and that although they have sworne fidelity to him, yet they must yeeld him none; neither may they be counted perjured for holding against their King, but rather he that obeyeth the King is excommunicate, and he that rebelleth against the King, is absolved from the blemish of disloyalty and perjurie, &c.* Thus he. And is this a matter to bee condemned, I pray you? Doe wee not cleerely see this performed among your selves? the King himselfe will approve of it: for you are confident of it, while you say: *We are very confident of his Majesties approbation to the integrity of our hearts, and peaceablenesse of our wayes and actions all this time past; and dor protest that we wil stil adhere to our former proceedings, mutuall defence, &c.* And good reason, for rebellion for such an important businesse against a King, cannot be disloyaltie; and they that have not followed your course, justly deserve *Excommunication* and *Banishment*. *Athanasius* was but too silly a man, being under the tyrannie of *Constantius* the *Arrian Hereticke*, that did not incite the people to *rebellion*, or to promove the designes of the Emperours brother, who was Orthodoxe, and worthier of the Crown. Which if he had done, he might have made a better Apologie to the Emperour *Constantius*, who charged him with the same, as if he had stirred up his brother, and the people against him. If he had done so, he might have made *Peters* Apologie, *Its better to obey God then man*. But because he did it not, he makes an Apology most beseeming a coward, who did not (as you did) *with counsell and courage lead the people to war against their Prince:*

Sigebert in anno 1088.

Protest. mense Sept. 1638.

Prince: but ſayes thus, *Vincat quaſo, apud te, veritas: & ne relinquas ſuſpicionem contra univerſam eccleſiã, quaſi talia aut cogitentur aut ſcribantur à Chriſtianis, & potiſſimùm Epiſcopis* Let truth I pray thee prevaile with thee, and leave not a ſuſpicion againſt the Catholick Church, as if ſuch things were either thought or written by Christians, and eſpecially by Biſhops. *I am not ſo mad, I am not beſide my ſelfe, O Emperour, that thou ſhouldſt ſuſpect I had any ſuch thought; I am not ſo mad, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which ſaith, Curſe not the King in thy heart, nor backbite the mightie in the ſecrets of thy chamber: for the birds of the aire ſhall tell it, and the fowles that flie ſhall bewray it.* *Athanaſius Apolog. ad Conſtant.*

This man was too fearefull: but you were of another ſpirit, encouraging the people and dehorting them from *being afraid of ſhadowes*; yea, your Prieſts were good patternes to the reſt to follow. There was one of them, who is worthy (if you could permit Images) to have his Statue ingraven in Marble, to eternize him to the worlds end, who went ſo ſtoutly to the Camp upon his horſe, with two Carabins at his Saddle, two Piſtols at his ſide, with a broad Scottiſh ſword; thoſe five weapons were like unto *Davids* five ſmooth ſtones which he tooke out of the brooke to kill *Goliah* with. This *David* no doubt would have killed five Engliſh at the firſt encounter with his five deadly weapons, and would have returned with triumph, ſaying with *Paul*, *I have fought a good fight*: for, *ſhould ſuch a man as* he *flie?* But if any ſhall produce the Canons of divers generall Councels, ordaining Clergie men that beare arms to be degraded and put from their place: and that of *Davenant*, *Chriſtus gladium* verbi *promittit, non* ferri; fugam *ſuadet, non* pugnam. Chriſt promiſeth to his Paſtors the ſword of the word, and not the ſword of iron; he perſwades to flie, but not to fight: the anſwer is eaſie. Thoſe generall Councels, though not *in toto*, yet *pro tanto*, are like your fix generall or nationall Councels, which you have condemned, becauſe they were againſt you: and *Davenant* is a Biſhop, and ſo your adverſary. Covenanters inform. for Defenſive. §. 4. *David D.* 2 Tim. 4. 7. Nehem. 6. 11. *Davenant de ter. quæſt.* 4.

A third errour wherewith wee were formerly toſſed by you, is now removed, it concerneth the Church-govern- III.

ment, which you at laſt, being put to it, doe acknowledge to belong to the Church, not to the King. What hath he to doe there?

Let Kings take care of civill ſtate,
Let Church of Church-matters debate.

This was the preſumption and errour of *Henry* the 8. King of England, as *Bellarmine* obſerveth. *Is enim ſe caput eccleſiæ Anglicanæ conſtituit, & eodem modo cenſuit alios principes capita ſuprema in ſuis ditionibus eſſe.* For he made himſelfe Head of the Church, and after the ſame manner judged other Princes to be ſupreme heads within their owne Dominions. And thus King *Charles* would alſo be: therefore in your *Proteſtations*, you declare that it is your ancient grievance, *That his Majeſty takes upon him, that ſpirituall power and authoritie, which properly belongeth to Chriſt, as onely King and Head of his Kirk. The miniſtery and execution whereof is onely given to ſuch as beare Eccleſiaſticall government of the ſame. So that in his Majeſties perſon ſome men pruſſe to erect a Popedome.* And all your Proteſtant Divines do hold the ſame doctrine, as ſo many *Court Paraſites*. The Fathers went too far on this way, I will but name *Auguſtine*: *All men* (ſayes he) *ought to ſerve God by cõmon cõdition, as men: in another ſort by ſeveral gifts & offices, by the which ſome do this, ſome do that. No private perſon could command Idols to be baniſhed cleane frõ amongſt men, which was ſo long before propheſied. Therfore Kings* (*beſide their duty to ſerve God common with all men*) *have, in that they be Kings, how to ſerve the Lord in ſuch ſort, as none can do, which are not Kings; for in this, Kings, as they are Kings, ſerve the Lord* (*as God by* David *enjoyned them*, Pſal. 2.) *if in their Kingdomes they command that which is good, and prohibite that which is evill, not in civill affaires onely, but alſo in matters concerning Divine Religion, &c.* This man is ſo confident, that in his 50 *Epiſtle* he crieth out, *Who being in their right wits dare alledge the contrary?* But truly the *Donatiſts* held the better part, they durſt alledge the contrary; ſo dare *Wee*, ſo dare *you doe*: *Malli viri virtute nixâ.* The Fathers judgement in ſuch ſtate matters is not approved by his Holineſſe the Pope. *Bellarmine* our truſtie Cham-

Eccl. de Rom. Pontif. l. 1. c. 7.

Proteſtat. 18 Decemb. 1638

Auguſt. contra literas Petiliæ, lib. 2. cap. 92.

Idem contra Creſc. lib. 8. cap. 51.

Champion ſpeaketh better for you; That the civill Magiſtrate *regit homines, ut homines ſunt, & magis ratione corporum quam animarum*: but on the contrary, the Church Governour *regit homines, ut Chriſtiani ſunt, & magis ratione animarum quam corporum*: *ille habet pro fine temporalem quietem, & ſalutem populi; iſte vitam & ſempiternam fœlicitatem*: *ille utitur naturalibus legibus, & inſtitutis humanis; iſte legibus divinis*. The King governeth men as they are men, and rather in regard of their bodies then their ſoules: but the Church Governour governeth men as they are Chriſtians, and rather in regard of their ſoules then their bodies. The end of the one is to procure the temporall quiet and ſafetie of the people; the other hath for his end, everlaſting life and happineſſe: the one uſeth naturall lawes and humane inſtitutions; but the other uſeth Divine Lawes.

And whereas your Doctors ſay, that the King is the keeper of the Tables, and the Miniſter of God for our good, and if for our good, then chiefly for our *principall good*, the good of our ſoules; to have a care of Religion according to the examples of the Religious Kings under the Law, and Chriſtian Princes under the Goſpel, &c. Thoſe, and many ſuch like idle arguments are not worthy that I ſhould ſtand to anſwer them, eſpecially in an Epiſtle; for there is no ſuch need of Kings, *the people may well enough be without them, for there were none till Cains dayes*, as you ſay: The Church was well governed in the Primitive time, while there was no Chriſtian King. *Ad annos ferme 300. nullus fuit in Eccleſia Chriſtianus Princeps ſecularis*. For the ſpace of 300 yeers there was no ſecular Chriſtian Prince in the Church, ſayes *Bellarmine*. And therefore, ſayes he, *Chriſtus Eccleſiam regendam Petro & Epiſcopis commiſit, non Tyberio & ejus Prætectis*: Hee committed the government of his Church, to *Peter* and the Biſhops, not to *Tyberius* the Emperor and his Officers. He ſaid to *Peter*, *Feed my ſheep*; not ſo to Kings, but, *Doe my Prophets no wrong*. The Church-men muſt give an account to God of mens ſouls, Kings have no ſuch account to make, as our *Stapleton* ſaies well with you: & therfore concludes, that not Kings but the Church is to be obeyed in Eccleſiaſtical buſineſſes; according to that of the Apoſtle, *Obe-*

Covenanters informat. for Defenſive arg. 3.

Bell. de laicis cap. 17.

Heb. 13. 17. *dite præpoſitis veſtris. Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves unto them, for they watch for your ſoule.* You doe then as it becommeth you, not to regard the Kings words, nor obey his Proclamations: but to perſwade the people (that I may uſe your owne words) *to ſubmit themſelves obediently to follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furniſhed with counſel and courage for the good of his Church and Kingdome*: The reaſon why they ſhould follow them, and not be carried away with the Kings Proclamations:

Covenanters inform. for Defenſive.

Bell. de Pont. Rom. l. 5. ca. 6. *quia poteſtas civilis ſubjecta eſt poteſtati ſpirituali quando utraq; pars eſt ejuſdem reipub. Chriſtiana.*

A fourth errour which you with good ſucceſs have aboliſhed, that you deny the power of convocating and diſmiſſing of Aſſemblies to belong to the *Supreme Magiſtrate*. In the Proteſtation in *July* 1638. you maintaine your *power of convocating Aſſemblies*: therefore in the 27. *Auguſt*, 1638. it was well put in among your Inſtructions before the Aſſemblies, *that the ableſt man in each Pariſh ſhould be provided to diſpute De poteſtate ſupremi Magiſtratûs in Eccleſiaſticis, præſertim in convocandis Conciliis*. Its your wiſedome to aſſemble when he commands you, ſo long as it is conducible for your ends; but yet you have power to aſſemble in a *Nationall Aſſembly*, in what place of the Kingdome you pleaſe. *Socrates* did ſmell too much of a *Court Paraſite*, while he ſaid, We make mention of Emperours throughout this Hiſtory, for that ſince they became Chriſtians, Eccleſiaſtical matters depend on them, & the greateſt Synods have bin, and yet are called by their appointment. He offended you who ſaid, that as *Moſes* is *cuſtos utriuſq; Tabulæ*, ſo is he *cuſtos utriuſq; Tubæ*: as the civill Magiſtrate is keeper of both the *Tables*, ſo hee is keeper of both the *ſilver Trumpets*, for *war*, for calling of *Aſſemblies*, and diſmiſſing of them: and that you would but blow the Trumpet of *Sedition*, if (without the Kings authority) you ſhould convocate Aſſemblies either for *peace*, or for *war*.

VIII. Inſtruct.

Socrat. in præmio lib. 5.

The *Marqueſſe of Hamilton* was too preſumptuous, being called with the Kings Authority, to diſcharge your laſt Aſſembly, which (as you ſaid well) was to *raiſe Chriſts Court*: and therefore, it was not ill adviſed by one of you, *that ſeeing the*

Marqueſſe

Marqueſſe was faithfull to his Maſter the King, ſo you ought to be faithfull to your Maſter the King of kings Jeſus Chriſt, and to defend his Royall prerogative above all the kings of the earth. In your anſwer to the *Marqueſſe* of *Hamiltons* Declaration, you affirme that *your Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction is independent*, and in your *Zions Plea*, you ſay, that your Presbyterian diſcipline *is the Scepter of Chriſt, ſwaying his own houſe according to his hearts deſire, the ſoul the chief Commander in the camp Royall*; and your *Travers* ſaies, *Hnic diſcipline omnes orbis Principes & Monarchas faſces ſuos ſubmittere, & parere neceſſe eſt*: There is a neceſſitie that all the Princes and Monarchs ſhould ſubmit their Scepters, and obey this diſcipline. And your *Mac Lellan* (whom ſome call a foole) ſpake not fooliſhly, while hee preached, *that the King had no more to do to meddle with your Aſſemblies, then you have to meddle with his Parliaments.* It was wiſely then done by you, in rejecting any *proteſtation* or *appellation* from your Aſſembly by the *Biſhops*, and their adherents, to the Kings Majeſtie; for ſuch appellations ought not to be, ſeeing there is none *Supreme* above your Nationall Aſſemblies. And therefore, as you have not hitherto regarded their proteſtation and appellation, but have proceeded againſt them to *depoſition* and *excommunication*: ſo continue, and be not diſmaid though they ſhould renue their proteſtations and appellations, even in the words of *Athanaſius*, in proteſting againſt, and appealing from the partiall counſell of *Tyrus*; which appellation and proteſtation of *Athanaſius*, and the reſt of the Orthodox Biſhops was in theſe words: *Becauſe we ſee many things ſpitefully contrived againſt us, and much wrong offered the Catholike Church under our names, we be forced to requeſt that the debating of our matters may bee kept for the Princes moſt excellent perſon. We cannot beare the drifts and injuries of our enemies; and therefore, require the cauſe to be referred to the moſt religious and devout Emperour, before whom we ſhall be ſuffered to ſtand in our own defence, and plead the right of the Church, &c.* If thoſe your Biſhops flying to the King, as *Athanaſius* and the reſt of the Orthodox Biſhops did to the Emperour, ſhall procure an edict or command from the King, (as thoſe did from the Emperor) to

De diſcip. Eccl. ſp. 5. 142.

Athanaſ. apolog. cap. 2.

charge you all to appeare before him to plead your cause, you ought not to appear as that miserable Synod of *Tyrus* did: The Edict was so peremptorie, that they durst not resist. The Edict was in these words: *Your Synod hath decreed I know not what in a tumult and uproare, while you seeke to pervert truth by your pestilent disorder for hatred against your fellow Bishops. But the divine providence will (I doubt not) scatter the mischiefe of your contention, and make it plaine in our sight whether your Assembly had any regard of truth, or not. You must therefore all of you resort hither, to shew the reason of your doings, for so doth it seeme good and expedient to me; to which end I willed this rescript to be sent you, that as many of you as were present at the Councell of* Tyrus, *without delay repaire to the place of our abode, there to give an account how sincerely & soundly you have judged, & that before me, whom your selves shal not deny to be the sincere Minister of God in* such cases, &c.

I say then, if you shall receive such a charge from your King, you should not obey: (for in your sense, that is *To betray the Royall prerogative of your King Jesus Christ*) but return the answer of *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with ingemination, *We will not come, we will not come*: or your Lords, Lay-Elders may return that of *Jeremy*, *We are Lords, we will no more come unto thee*. And if your King will not be content with your answer, prosecute your begun course with all diligence and earnestnesse; having begun in the *spirit* end not in the *flesh*, but go on with that which they call disorders, till *you get the king in your power and then he shal know what subjects you will be*. If the people of one city falling in *sedition* for matters of *Religion*, so prevailed & passed all power of resisting, that *Anastasius* the Emperour was fain to come to an open place without his *Crown*, & by Heralds to signifie to the people, that he was ready with a very good will to resigne the Empire into their hands: how much more may you who have many cities, by continuing your courses, force your King to resigne his Crown of Scotland? And howbeit the people of that city seeing the Emperor in so pitiful a case, were moved with the spectacle & changed their minds, & besought the Emperour to keep his Crown, and promised for their parts to be quiet: yet do not you so, till your King shall perform all your demands. From

Num. 16. 12. 14.
Ier. 2. 31.
Evag. lib. 3. cap. 44.

From that which hath been done by you, and repeated by me, I ſee other two errours baniſhed, which I conjoyne for brevities ſake, leſt my Epiſtle ſhould encreaſe to a Treatiſe, *viz.* That the King is no more to be *Preſident*, nor *ſupreme Governour* in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall. It is the folly of your Divines, to make the Moderator of your Aſſemblies to be unto the *King* or his *Delegate* in Aſſemblies, as the *Chancellor* in the Parliament is to the *King*, or his *Deputy* in Parliaments. But I extoll your courage, who now conclude with us, *Ad regium officium pertinet, ut legibus & ediſtis ſuis, eam fidem teneri, quam ſacerdotes tenendam docent, &c.* Its the duty of Kings, by their Laws and Edicts to cauſe that faith to be kept, which the Prieſts teach ſhould be kept. For *the ſpirit of the Prophets is ſubject to the Prophets*. But is *Saul* alſo among the Prophets? Is it true that the *Anticovenanter* ſayes, that in your Eccleſiaſticall Judicatories, called [1] Seſſions, [2] Presbyteries, and [3] Synods, there will be in the firſt, ſometimes twelve, ſometimes ſixteen, in ſome places 24. *Lay-elders* for one *Prieſt*? Secondly, in your Presbyteries, Lay-elders of *equal power and number*? Thirdly, in your Synods as many *Lay-elders* with their Aſſeſſors as there is Prieſts; all which Lay-elders have as great power in matters of Doctrine and Diſcipline as the Prieſts themſelves, to *judge*, and paſſe *definitive ſentence*? &c. But I truſt it is not ſo, for I heare that they are offended to be called *Lay-elders*, and will be called *Ruling-elders*, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and ſo I doubt not but they have received *orders* from you. And therefore ſeeing Eccleſiaſticall perſons among you, have the managing of Church-affaires, the civil Magiſtrate muſt be content to execute what you decree; neither ought he to judge otherwiſe then you judge; neither can he hinder you to make Lawes in the Church: For, as *Stapleton* ſayes very learnedly with you, *Oves non poſſunt judicare paſtores*. Let the ſheep-heards iudge of the ſheepe, who muſt follow them; as Chriſts ſheep heard his voyce and followed him. Therefore you have moſt valiantly ſhaken off that yoke of the Kings *ſupremacie* in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, and at the Croſſe of *Glaſgow* proclaimed to the world (againſt the Kings Proclamation for raiſing the aſſembly) that *your Aſſemblies are the ſupreme*

5. 6.

Bellarmine.

judicatory

Protest. in Julii 1638 § 5. You appeale from the King and the Councell to the generall Assembly and Parliament. *Bell. de clericis, c. p. 28.*

judicatorie in all causes ecclesiasticall; and since supreme, its *independent* from the King, and your reason is good: for that which is superiour cannot be subject to that which is inferiour. Now (as *Bellarmine* also sayes) *Regimen Ecclesiasticum sublimius est Politico.* The Ecclesiasticke government is higher then the Politicke: for *Principatus politicus institutus est ab hominibus, & de jure gentium: at principatus ecclesiasticus est à solo Deo, & de jure divino.* The Politicke Government is institute by men, and of the Law of Nations: but the Church Government is from God alone, and of Divine institution.

„ Therefore you conclude right, that the King hath no more „ power to appoint officers in the Church, then you have power „ to appoint officers of state for his Court.

In *Zions Plea*, pag. 289. you answer well to the Protestants objection, thus: If any object the Magistrates interposed authority, it's quickly answered, *That his power is not to weaken any ordinance of God, but for guarding and making good all Gods ordinances with the Sword.* And in your protestation at *Edenburgh*, 18. *December*, 1638. you bring from your Booke of Discipline a full and perfect description of the Kings authority in Church matters, which is this, *To assist and maintaine the discipline of the Kirk, and punish them civilly who will not obey the censures thereof.* And in your answer to the *Marquesse* of *Hamilton* his Declaration, you say, *That the Supreme Magistrate, as a Son of the Kirke, ought to receive the true meaning of the Kirke, and cause it to be received by those whom God hath subjected unto him.* Yea, it is so farre from being a prerogative due to the Supreme Magistrate to be Supreme Governour in causes Ecclesiasticall, that it is a favour granted unto him to have any precedencie in Synods without voycing, (except he would become a ruling Elder, and have a commission to come.) Therefore it is most remarkable which you say in your Protestation 29. *Novem.* 1638. at *Glasgow*. „ After 39. *National Assemblies* of this „ National Church, where neither the Kings Majesty, nor a- „ ny in his name was present: At the humble and earnest de- „ sire of the Assembly, His Majesty graciously vouchsafed His „ presence either in His owne Royall person, or by a Commis-

sioner

„ ſioner, not for voiting or multipling of voyces; but as Prin-
„ ces and Emperours of old, in a Princely manner to counte-
„ nance that meeting, and to preſide into it for externall order,
&c. And this is all that wee grant to Emperors and Princes in our diſputes againſt Proteſtants. And I pray you, what Roy-aliſt can anſwer the Arguments which you have borrowed from us? all their anſwer is, that they exclaime that you do borrow your Arguments from your enemies, yet not ſo great enemies, as they ſuppoſe; for the Jeſuite is called the Popiſh Puritan: and the Puritan is called the Proteſtant Jeſuite; and I truſt that the like may be ſaid of us, which is ſaid of Chriſt and *Franciſcus*:

Exue Franciſcum tunica, laceroq́, cucullo *Turſelin.*
Qui Franciſcus erat, jam tibi Chriſtus erit,
Franciſci exuviis, ſi qua licet, indue Chriſtum,
Jam Franciſcus erit, qui tibi Chriſtus erat.

And wee are both by Papiſts and Proteſtants (though unjuſtly) branded with theſe vile Epithets, to bee called *Holy Divels, the Standard-bearers of perfidiouſneſſe, the Architypes of Rebellion, the Bellows of Sedition, the Emiſſaries of the Divel, the Kings evill, and the Incendiaries of the whole world*, &c. and our *Thuan* is ſo farre out of Love with us, that hee ſayes our Societie is, *Ludov. de Cruzam.*

Nata Magiſtratum convellere, nata miniſtris
Subtrahere obſequium, Præſulibuſq́, ſuum.

But albeit there were ſome ods between us, what is that to them, ſince they bee good for you? who found fault with him who ſaid, *Mutemus clypeos, Danaumq́, inſignia nobis*
Aptemus. Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirat?

Who can blame you while you ſay, that if Princes ſhall have ſuch power in Aſſemblies, and in matters of Religion, then all *Religion and Church-government ſhould depend abſolutely upon the pleaſure of the Prince*. and hee may change it as he will? So ſayes learned *Stapleton* in his diſpute againſt the Proteſtant Doctrine: *Poſita hac poteſtate, nec in una provincia vel regno diu erit fidei unitas vel cultus, & religionis conformitas, quia ſinguli principes quod ipſis melius videbitur, ſtatuent, quorũ decretis ſi reſiſtatur, perpetua erunt bella.* This power being granted to Kings, then Unitie of faith and wor- Proteſtat. 18 Novemb. 1638.

 ſhip,

ſhip, and conformity of religion will not remaine long in one province or kingdome, becauſe every Prince will ordaine that which ſeemeth beſt in his eyes. To whoſe decrees if reſiſtance be made, there will follow perpetuall warre. But this power being granted to the Church, which cannot erre in her Synodicall acts, there ſhall ever be Unity of faith depending upon the *infallibility* of Church Aſſemblies.

VII. For I ſee in the ſeventh place, that you do acknowledge the *infallibility* of generall Conncels or Aſſemblies. For that Aſſembly which you did hold at *Glaſgow* lately, is to you ſo *infallible*, that long time before, you doe profeſſe that you did *ſwear for judgement and practice to adhere to the determination of it:* And now of late, *Julii* 1.1639 do *proteſt before God and the world, that you will ſtill adhere to it.* And you have good reaſon ſo to do: for if generall Aſſemblies may erre, then, ſay we, *Poſſent meritò revocari in dubium omnes damnatæ hæreſes, & concilia nullo honore digna eſſent.* All hereſies which are condemned, may againe be called in queſtion, and our Aſſemblies eſteemed worthy of no honour. And therefore you may juſtly feare, upon this ground, that your Aſſembly might erre, and that you may be branded with errour in your decrees, and have all called in queſtion again which you have condemned. As for us of Rome, condemne your Aſſemblies who will, we ſhall never doe it: but rather deſire that you may ſtill appoint the *ſame Commiſſioners* for your future Aſſemblies therin to confirme all which they had decreed in the former: for your acts of abjuring *Epiſcopacie* the *Articles of Perth*, *Service-book*, *Book of Canons*, pleaſeth us very well: howbeit we doe not throughly approve the reaſon of your acts. You have thruſt away and excommunicated your Biſhops, becauſe you think them *Antichriſtian*: ſo do wee excommunicate your Biſhops, becauſe they are *Antichriſtian*. But you think them *Antichriſtian*, becauſe you make it an Article of your *Negative faith*, that they are a part of the *Popiſh Hierarchie*: And we thinke them *Antichriſtian*, becauſe they are not ſo, neither doe they acknowledge the Pope for their Head, but doe declaime againſt him, and the greateſt wound that ever we have received, is from ſuch Biſhops as they are, as *Cranmer*, *Latimer*,

Covenanters informat. for. Defenſive. § 7.

Bill. de autor. concilior. cap. 4.

mer, Ridley, Hooper, Jewell, Bilſon, Andrewes, πανσοφία, ſtupor mundi; *Whitgift, Babington, Abbots,* King *Downame, Uſſher, Morton, Davenant, Montague, Hall, White,* and that Arch-enemie of yours and ours, *Canterbury*, with divers others, whom I like not to reeite.

In this particular, King *James* is oppoſite to us both, becauſe (as *Becanus* well obſerveth) he holdeth, that Biſhops have their juriſdiction immediately from God, while he ſaith, *Epiſcopos eſſe in Eccleſia debere tanquam inſtitutionem Apoſtolicam, ac ordinationem proinde divinam, contra Puritanos contraq; Bellarminum ſemper ſenſi, qui negat Epiſcopos à Deo immediatè ſuam juriſdictionem accepiſſe. Sed nihil mirum, a Puritanis eum ſtare, cum Jeſuita nihil aliud quàm Puritano-papiſta ſint.* I ever thought that Biſhops ought to bee in the Church, as an Apoſtolicall inſtitution, and therefore a divine ordinance, againſt *Puritans*, and againſt *Bellarmine*; who deny that Biſhops have their jurisdiction immediately from God; but no marvell that *Bellarmine* takes the *Puritans* part, ſeeing *Jeſuites* are no other thing but *Puritan-papiſts*. And in that ſame place, the King ſheweth that from a generall Councell convocated by Chriſtian Princes, for the ſettling of Religion, he would have *Jeſuits* and *Puritans* excluded, whom he calleth bá a common title *novitios, & furioſos incendiarios*: and ſayes, *Mihi præcipuus labor fuit dejectos Epiſcopos reſtituere, & Puritanorum anarchiam expugnare.* My chief labour was to reſtore the Biſhops that were caſt downe, and to overthrow the anarchie of Puritans.

Becan. de prim. Reg. Angl. ca. 7.

Jacobi Regis præfat. menit.

Ibidem.

Wee thanke you alſo for removing the Articles of *Perth*; for they were not rightly eſtabliſhed: for your Church did eſteeme thoſe ceremonies to be onely *things indifferent*, commended and commanded by Authority, for *Decency* and *Order*. The not obſervation whereof was held no *damnable ſinne*, if it were without *contempt* of Authority, and without the *caſe of ſcandall*; and, at the moſt, your Church did hold that thoſe ceremonies were onely *ſignificant*, and not *operative*, as we hold. But if they had been rightly eſtabliſhed, you ſhould have obſerved them as things *neceſſary to ſalvation*, and as parts of *Gods worſhip*, which under paine of *damna-*

tion ought to be performed, and that they are signes *operative*, working *grace* in those who observe them. And therefore seeing your Church did not hold this opinion of them, they are not *Popish Ceremonies*, and so not *ours*; and whatsoever you have more, that is not *ours*, we request you to abjure it.

The condemning also of the *Service-book* is most acceptable unto us, because it is not our *Masse-book*; and that you may see how much we hate it, Be it known to you that by vertue of the Popes Bull many yeers agoe, we will suffer no Roman Catholike to goe to the Church, so long as the *Service-booke* is reading either in *England* or *Ireland*, and yet we will permit them to goe to their Sermons, and of all Sermons we sympathize best with yours: So that it seemeth a most unfortunate booke, having both us and you for its enemies.

And since I am fallen upon this point, let me relate an History that passed between a *Covenanter* and an *Anticovenanter*, as it was reported to me, concerning this booke, that you may make your use of it. "The *Covenanter* demanded the cause "why he could refuse to joyne with them in a Supplication to "his Majestie against the book of *Common Prayer*, seeing there "were so many hands of able Ministers subscribing the same, "and obliging themselves to make it good, that it was 1. *Su-*"*perstitious*. 2. *that it conteineth the maine essentiall parts of* "*the Masse*. 3. *that it openeth a doore to let in all Poperie*? The "*Anticovenanter* answered thus, or to this effect: Because such "unjust aspersions are cast upon that poore Book, which doth "not containe so many *Lines*, as it doth suffer *Lyes*, hated be "all that love not truth; *Papists* and *Puritans* striveing who "shall speake most against it, I shall bee so farre from becom-"ming a causelesse enemy to it, that I cannot deny it my friend-"ship and helping hand. But because you are so furious, and I "for speaking but one word in its favour have beene hotly per-"secuted with tongues, and hands too; it will be better to be "possessed with a *Lethargie*, then to appeare in defence of "this *Lyturgie*, which the most part, even of the Mini-"strie, hath condemned with blinde obedience, before they "did *see* or *reade* it. It might be sufficient for me to deny what "you peremptorily affirme against it, and its your part to

"prove

" prove the *Affirmative:* and your beſt *Probation* is your
" naked *aſſertion*, ſeconded with *railing* againſt all that will not
" beleeve you. But I pray you heare the Book ſpeak for it ſelfe,
" and it ſhall purge it ſelfe of ſuch calumnies, in the judgement
" of all indifferent men, and it will tell you that you are like
Davids enemies, caſting iniquitie upon it where you find
none, and laying to its charge the thing it never knew, and ſo
doe hate it without a cauſe.

First then, here it purgeth it ſelfe of all Superſtition, at the 1.
" firſt entrie of the booke, where it ſheweth the *reaſons why*
" *ſome ceremonies are aboliſhed, and ſome retained*, in plaine
" words, ſaying: *The multitude of ceremonies are rejected, be-*
" *cauſe of their multitude and ſuperſtition.* And in the cele-
" bration of the Holy Communion, it recommends the uſe
" of common bread. But wherefore? *for the avoyding of Su-*
" *perſtition*, ſayes the booke; ſo that at the very entry, the
" booke is moſt carefull to ſatisfie all ſcrupulous people, thus
" telling them that it hates ſuperſtition as well as they. Again,
" if there were any thing ſuperſtitious in this booke, it muſt
" be enjoyned as a thing *neceſſary in it ſelfe*, as *unchangeable*;
" the not obſerving of it would be *damnable*, as the breach of
" *Gods Law*. To all this the Book anſwers in the ſame place,
" that it *enjoyneth nothing in that manner, but what the Word*
" *of God commands*. And as for the ceremonies contained
" in it, it is ſo farre from eſteeming them *things neceſſarie*,
" that it placeth them in the ranke of *indifferent things*. The
" *keeping or omitting whereof is but a ſmall thing*, ſayes the
" booke: It ſayes further, that *thoſe ceremonies are taken away*
" *which were moſt abuſed, and did burthen mens conſciences*
" *without cauſe, and that thoſe which remain are retained for*
" *diſcipline and order*. It tells that they are alſo *changeable*,
" and not to bee compared to *Gods Law*, whileſt it ſayes of
" them thus, *Upon juſt cauſes they may be altered and changed,*
" *and therefore are not to bee eſteemed equall with Gods Law.*
" What can any man ſay more againſt ſuperſtition then is ſaid
" by the book it ſelf? Therefore, its very likely that they have
" not read the book, (as I am ſure the moſt part have never
" done) or at leaſt, have read it with an *evill eye*; who con-

" demne it of *Superſtition*, whereof it is moſt free.

II. " As for the ſecond, that it doth containe the *eſſentiall parts* " *of the Maſſe*, read and ſee the contrary in the book it ſelfe, " which doth keepe Chriſts *inſtitution it ſelfe*, and *Pauls re-* " *petition of it*, in ſuch ſort, that I thinke no Church can cele- " brate the Sacrament with more *puritie, ſincerities, gravitie*, " and none with more *Majeſtie* then by this booke. But let me " ſpeak a little for it. I pray you, Why are you ſo ſparing? you may " ſay as well, that it containes the *whole Maſſe*, as the *maine* " *eſſentiall parts of the Maſſe*; for (if you have any Logicke, " or naturall reaſon) you may ſo conclude: for where that is, " which is eſſentiall to a thing, there the thing it ſelfe muſt be: " But in this booke (ſay you) *are the eſſentiall parts of the* " *Maſſe*, what doth hinder then, but that it hath the Maſſe it " ſelfe in it? for, if it have the maine eſſentiall parts of the " Maſſe, what doth it lack or want? not the *proper accidents*, " for theſe do flow from *the eſſentiall parts*, and are *inſeparable* " from it. It can want nothing then of the Maſſe, unleſſe it be " *ſome common accidents*, which may be either *preſent* or *abſent*, " without any hurt of the *ſubject*. What boldneſſe is this then " to ſpeak ſuch a maine eſſentiall lye? Let me either ſee that the " book maintaineth, that, *ſub ſpeciebus panis & vini*, the body " and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt is *bodily offered up* by the Prieſt, to " God the Father, a *propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the* " *dead*; or elſe, lay your hand on your mouth, & ſpeak no more.

III. " Finally, ſince it hath neither *Superſtition*, nor the *eſſenti-* " *als of the Maſſe*, how can it *open a doore to Popery?* certain- " ly, it is purged from all ſuch ſtuffe, and reſtored to the antient " integritie, the leaſt thing that might tend to *ſuperſtition*, be- " ing thruſt out of doore, as *Ammon* did *Tamar, without hope* " *of return*: and if any ſuperſtition would dare to enter, as the " Sodomits at *Lots* doore, *the doore is ſo faſt ſhut* (by that " which I have told you from the mouth of the book it ſelfe, in " the beginning of the right uſe and abuſe of Ceremonies) that " they muſt deſpaire of any entrie.

" What needs all ſuch uproare then without cauſe? ſuch " fearfull Schiſmes, ſuch Dictatorial cenſures, and uncharitable " verdicts, that they are all Papiſts, or Popiſhly affected,

" that

"that run not with you to miſchiefe? Shew me but one *maſcu-*
"*line reaſon* (and lay aſide wives tales) and I ſhall take it in
"place of many: *& erunt ultimi primi*, I ſhall redeeme my
"time with redoubling my courſe, and ſhall be ſo far from ap-
"proving the leaſt point, which you ſhall ſhew to be Poperie,
"that for that one points ſake, it ſhall get no more pitie then
"*Samuel* gave to *Agag: I ſhall rent it in pieces.*

"Reade over that which you have condemned with judge-
"ment, and not with prejudice, and I ſhall oblige my ſelfe to
"make good thoſe particulars: Firſt, that you ſhall never be a-
"ble to find any thing in it *contrary to the word of God.* 2. That
"it containeth nothing contrary to the practiſe of the Primi-
"tive Church, but which is moſt agreeable thereto. 3. That
"all the points which you condemne, are *not controverted* be-
"tweene our *claſſicall Divines* and *Papiſts*, but agreed upon
"on *both ſides*, as things not *controverted.* 4. That there is no-
"thing in it contrary to our Confeſſion of Faith in Scotland.
"Yea, which is much, you ſhall not ſhow me one Proteſtant
"Divine of any note or *eminencie*, even among the *Reformers*
"*of Religion*, who ever did condemne this booke of the leaſt
"*point of Popery:* But on the contrary did commend it, and de-
"fend it againſt all pettie-preachers who refuſed it, as you do.
"Learned *Bucer* thus affirmeth, *In the Ceremonies of the Engliſh* *Bucer. Script. Anglic. in con. pag. 456.*
"*Lyturgie, I have found nothing which is not taken out of the*
"*Word of God, or at leaſt, which is repugnant to it, ſo it be fa-*
"*vourably underſtood.* *Calvin* himſelfe peruſing the *Lyturgie,* *Calvin epiſt. 200. fol. 336.*
"declared that he found no fault in it at all; *and wrote to the*
"*Engliſh Exiles at Frankford, who had made arent and ſchiſme*
"*in the Church, to be moderate, and returne to the Church. Vos*
"*ultra modum rigidos eſſe nolim.* I would not have you ſtiffe
"above meaſure; and bids them returne to Conformitie, and
"proponeth his owne opinion, *in Anglorum controverſia*
"*moderationem ſemper tenui, cujus me non pœnitet.* In the
"controverſie of England I have ever kept a moderation,
"whereof I do not repent: and was very much offended with
"thoſe who would not *yeeld* in ſuch *indifferent things*, for
"peace ſake. It was *Calvin* with *Peter Martyr* who by many
"arguments perſwaded Biſhop *Hooper* to *conformitie*, eſpe-
"cially

"cially to put on the *Surpleſſe*, which he did. I might produce
"all the reſt of thoſe worthy Divines, *Beza*, *Melanction*, *Bullin-*
"*ger*, *Peter Martyr*, *Gualter*, *Zanchius*, who all of them con-
"demn your *opinion* & *ſchiſmaticall practice*, who had rather
"rent the body of *Chriſt Jeſus*, then yeeld to any thing that
"doth not content your turbulent luſts: and therefore your
"praiers are turned into ſin, while you *pray the Lord of heaven*
"*truly and fully to inform his Majeſty how farre this Booke is*
"*full of idolatrous ſuperſtitions and popiſh errors*, as you affirm
"in your Proteſtation againſt his Majeſties Proclamation. And
"it is no marvell that you condemne this *Booke of Common*
"*Praier*, ſeeing you have condemned your *owne book of Com-*
"*mon* Praier made at your *Reformation*. The Ring-leaders of
"your *faction* condemne all *ſet Praier* whatſoever, all *ſet forme*
"of celebration of the *Sacraments* & *Marriages*. The praiers
"which were read ſince the Reformation till this rupture, are
"now baniſhed the Church, yea your Ring-leaders have bani-
"ſhed the *Lords Praier*, and ſay that thoſe who uſe it make it
"an *Idoll*: and therefore in their praiers it is never mentioned,
"to the great ſcandall & grief of many poor ſouls among you,
"who yet love it, becauſe Chriſts command is when you pray,
"ſay, *Our Father which art in heaven, &c.* You *Baptize*, cele-
"brate the *Communion*, not as you were wont to do, after the
"*form* ſet downe unto you at the Reformation: but every day
"after a *diverſe forme and manner*, being *changeable* like the
"wind; ſo do you with *Marriage*. Thus you differ from *your-*
Jam. 1. 8. "*ſelfe* like the *double-minded man*, *who is unſtable in all his*
"*waies*; *wavering like the waves of the ſea*, *driven with the*
"*wind*, *& toſſed*. And what pleaſeth you to day, diſpleaſeth you
"to morrow. You do alſo daily coin *new* Articles of faith, as to
"beleeve *Epiſcopacie* to be *Antichriſtian*: and the *young Lay-*
"*elder* government to be that which Chriſt hath appointed in
"his Church. It is an *Article of your faith* to beleeve, that to
"receive the body and bloud of Jeſus Chriſt, in the humble ge-
"ſture of *kneeling* is *idolatry*. It is an *Article of your faith*,
"that it is *Popery*, if the Church ſet apart *a day* for the ſolemn
"and thankfull commemoration of Gods love to the world,
Gal. 4. 4 "*who ſo loved the world*, *that when the fulneſſe of time was*
come,

" *come, ſent forth his Sonne made of a woman, made under the*
" *Law, to redeem them which were under the Law; that wee*
" *might receive the adoption of Sons.* It is an *Article of your*
" *faith*, that it is *Popery*, if the Church doth ſet apart *a day* for
" the ſolemne and publike commemoration of the *Paſſion of*
" *Chriſt*, that *the people may looke unto Jeſus the Author and* Heb. 12. 2.
" *Finiſher of their faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him*
" *endured the croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame.* Its an *Article of your*
" *faith*, that it is *Popery* to give the Communion *on Paſch day.*
" Its an *Article of your faith*, that it is Popery, if the Church
" appoint *a day* for the thankfull remembrance of Chriſts *A-*
" *ſcenſion* into Heaven. Its an *Article of your faith*, that its *Po-*
" *pery*, if the Church appoint *a day* for the thankfull remem-
" brance of the *Deſcenſion of the Holy Ghoſt* on *Whitſunday*, to
" give gifts unto men. Its an *Article of your faith*, that the
" *Service-book* is *Popiſh.* Its an *Article of your faith*, that the
" *Book of Canons* (which directly overthrowes the Popiſh Su-
" premacie) and the *High Commiſſion* are *abjured* in your
" Confeſſion of faith. Its an *Article of your faith*, that it was
" the *intention* of thoſe whom you call *bleſſed Reformers*, that
" all the *foreſaids*, which you have in your Covenant *abjured*
" *expreſly*, was abjured by them alſo *as well as if it had bin ex-*
" *preſly ſet downe:* which is the moſt ridiculous thing in the
" world; for *intentio eſt actus immanens*, which is impoſſible
" for any man to know, except it be revealed. And therefore
" ſince there is ſuch difference among your ſelves, every day
" bringing forth new *dreames*, ſince to you ſome things are
" ſometimes *indifferent*, ſometimes *neceſſary good*, ſometimes
" *neceſſary evill*, ſometimes a matter *of faith*, ſometimes *Not:* I
" cannot but end this diſcourſe with that of *Hilarius*, in Appli- *Hilar. lib. 3.*
" cation to you: *Faith is come now to depend rather on the time* *cont. Conſt.*
" *then on the Goſpel: our ſtate is dangerous and miſerable, that*
" *we have now as many Faiths as wills, as many doctrines as*
" *manners. Whilſt Faiths are either ſo written as we liſt, or ſo*
" *underſtood as we will, we make every yeer & every moneth a*
" *faith, and ſtill we ſeek a faith, as if there were no faith. This I*
" *would fain know of you, what faith at length you beleeve? you*
" *have changed ſo often, that now I know not your Faith. That*

"*is happened unto you, which is wont to follow unskilfull buil-*
"*ders, ever disliking their owne doings, that you still put down*
"*that which you are still putting up. You subvert the old with*
"*the new, and the new you rent asunder with a new correction:*
"*and that which was once corrected, you condemne with a se-*
"*cond correction. O wicked men, what a mockery do you make*
"*of the Church! onely dogs returne to their vomit, and you*
"*compell the Priests to sup up those things which they have*
"*spit forth; and doe you command them in their confession to*
"*allow that which before they condemned? What Bishops hand*
"*have you left innocent? What tongue have you not forced to*
"*falshood? Whose heart hast thou not brought to the condem-*
"*ning of his former opinion? You have subjected all to your*
"*will, and to your violence. Thus* Hilarius.

"And therefore of those your *new-coyned articles* (especial-
"ly of your abjuring *Episcopacy*, and establishing *Presbyteriall*
"*discipline*) I may wel say that of *Jerom*: *Plantatio vestra non*
Jerom in Psal. 107. "*est vetus, sed novella est; non est de veteri lege, non de Prophe-*
"*tis, non de Apostolis, sed de novis magistris est.* Your planta-
"tion is not old, but a novelty, (for it is not three yeers old) it
"is not taken out of the old Law, nor from the Prophets, nor
"from the Apostles, but new masters. And therefore, *adulte-*
Cypr. lib. 1. c. 8. "*rum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quicquid humano furore*
"*instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur.* What soever is esta-
"blished by the fury of man, whereby the divine disposition is
"violated, is an adulterate, wicked & sacrilegious matter. And
"I hold that, as an undoubted rule of *Augustine*, *Quod uni-*
August. lib. 4. de Bapt. cap. 24. "*versalis tenuit ecclesia, quodq; non Conciliis institutum sed*
"*semper retentum est, non nisi Apostolicâ authoritate traditum*
"*rectissimè creditur.* What soever the *Catholike Church* hath
"holden, & which was not instituted by *Councels*, but ever kept
"in the Church, that is most rightly beleeved to be an *Apostoli-*
"*call tradition*: and he brings for instances those *holy daies*,
"which your Covenant *abjures*, which hath ever been retai-
"ned in the Church from the Apostles daies. And albeit wee
"could not prove *Episcopacy* from Scripture (as wee may very
"wel prove it, and is proved by those who defend the same) yet
"this unquestionable rule of *Augustine* will bee sufficient to

"prove

"prove it to be of *Apoſtolicall inſtitution*; for you ſay, it is not of "*Divine inſtitution*, and I ſay, it is not inſtituted by *Councels*: "and yet all that are but little exerciſed in *antiquitie*, ſhall "find that *Epiſcopacie* was ever in the Church from the Apoſtles "daies, till this preſent time that it is called in queſtion. And "beſide that rule of *Auguſtine*, conſider that it is the *generall* "*tradition* of the *Catholike Church*, that *Epiſcopacie* hath ever "been in it, as an *Apoſtolicall inſtitution*. And by this *generall* "*tradition* of the Catholike Church, we are as certain, that it is "of *Apoſtolicall inſtitution*, as wee are certaine of the *received* "*number* of the *Canonicall bookes* of Scripture: for we receive "and take that number upon the *continued generall tradition* of "the Catholike Church of Chriſt from age to age. We reject & "deteſt *particular traditions* of any *preſent particular* Church; "ſuch as are thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, if they cannot ſhew "thoſe *traditions* to have been *generally* received *at all times* "in the Catholike Church. But there is no Proteſtant that doth "not receive *generall traditions* of the Catholike Church; ſuch "as is this, concerning the *definite number* of the bookes of the "Canonicall Scripture: and if I would aſſume a ſchiſmaticall hu- "mour, I might with as good warrants deny, that there are ſo "many books in the *Canon*, as the Catholike Church ſaies there "bee; as you denie *Epiſcopacie* to bee of *Apoſtolicall inſtitu-* "*tion*.

VIII. Thus have I briefly ſhown you the paſſages between the *Anticovenanter* and *Covenanter*, which I leave to your conſideration, and returne to my purpoſe. From this ſweet harmonie in the preceding points, eſpecially of your *independent power* in Church matters, there followeth another parallel by way of conſequence, *viz.* that you may excommunicate your King, if he doe not obey the Acts & Conſtitutions of your Aſſemblies. Thus you threatned King *James* and his Councel both, with excommunication, if he would not execute your Acts of your Aſſembly; and good reaſon, ſeeing it is the *ſupreme Judicatory*, and the King is a *ſon of your Church*, *from whom he ought to take the meaning*. And if he be refractarie, why may not the Aſſembly excommunicate him, as *Ambroſe* did *Theodoſius*? And as I have ſaid already from your *Travers*, of your government, *Huic diſcipline*

omnes Principes &c. There is a neceſſity that all Princes & Monarchs ſhould ſubmit their Scepters, and obey this Diſcipline. Its your *chiefe Commander in the Camp royal, Thomas Cartwright* being asked, *whether the King himſelf might be excommunicated*, anſwered, *That excommunication ſhould not be exerciſed upon Kings, I utterly miſlike it* and ſo do we alſo; yea, albeit they bee not Heretickes themſelves, yet if they doe not puniſh ſuch as their Paſtors commands them, they may be excommunicate: *Poteſt ac debet Paſtor regibus jubere ut puniant Hereticos, & niſi fecerint, etiam cogere per excommunicationem.* The Paſtor may, and ought to command Kings to puniſh Heretieks, & if they do it not, even to compell them with excommunication. But eſpecially, *ſi ſit Hæreticorum vel Schiſmaticorum fautor, receptor, vel defenſor*; if he be a favourer, receiver or defender of Heretickes and Schiſmatickes. If your Biſhops be ſuch men, is not this your Kings fault? your *fault is, that you uſe but too much lenity*, in not aſcending from the *Myter* to the *Crown*; for this may ſtand very well with your Tenent and Ours, though Proteſtant Divines diſclaime it: for your *Buchanan* teacheth you, that not only it is lawfull to *excommunicate* Princes, but that they ſhould both *depoſe* him, and *deſtroy* him; for hee ſayes *Miniſters may excommunicate Princes, and he being by excommunication caſt into hell, is not worthy to enjoy any life upon earth.* But truly *Knox* & *Buchanan* are more *rigid* then we are herein; for howbeit, we grant that it's lawfull to excommunicate Kings, yet wee hold it not neceſſary that upon excommunication, either *depoſition* or *killing* ſhould follow. Indeed by our common Tenent it will follow, that excommunication is an *antecedent* to deprivation or killing; but we do not hold that deprivation or killing of Princes is a neceſſary *conſequent*, or *effect* of excommunication. For (ſay we) *quando talis effectus adjungitur, non eſt effectus ipſius excommunicationis, ſed ſpecialis pœna ſimul cum excommunicatione impoſita.* When ſuch an effect is joyned to excommunication, its not the effect of it, but a ſpeciall puniſhment impoſed with it. But its wonderfull to ſee the wide difference between this our Tenent and yours, and that which Proteſtants hold; for they make the power of the ſupreme Magiſtrate *Architectonick*, and ſubject unto it all power *Civill* and *Eccleſiaſticall*:

Bellar. contra Barklaium.

Azor inſt. moral part. 2. l. 10. cap. 9.

Buchan. de jure reg. apud. Scot. pag. 70.

Suarez. de cenſur. diſp. 15. ſect. 6.

So

So that as in civill affaires they use the counsell and help of Politicians and Jurisconsults for establishing of lawes, according to *reason*; so in ecclesiasticall businesse, they use the help and advice of learned Divines for establishing religion according to *Gods word*, which ought never to depart from their hands. And its most boldly said by them in the words of Bishop *Davenant*, *Reges non ita astringuntur Episcoporum vel Theologorum suorum opinionibus, quin si adversentur legi divinæ (cujus oportet reges studiosissimos & peritissimos esse) teneantur ex officio regio, veram religionem, illis omnibus licet reclamantibus, tueri, & subditis suis proponere*: Kings are not so tyed to the opinions of their Bishops and Theologues, but if they be contrary to the Law of God, (of the which Kings ought to be great studiers, and very well skilled) they are bound by *their Kingly office* to defend the true Religion, and set it before their Subjects, albeit *all* those Divines should cry out against it. But those men are *Court Parasites*, as your usuall word is; or as *Becanus* calls those that defend the Kings Supremacie, *regios adulatores* King-flatterers. And I admire that *Tertullian*, being under Heathen Emperours, should bee guilty of those flatteries, while he sayes in a Court-like complement, *Reges in solius Dei potestate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes, & super omnes deos & homines*: Kings are only in the power of God, from whom they are second, after whom they are first, before all, and above all gods and men. But I like not to trouble my selfe with such men, but proceed to another head.

Daven. deter. quæst. 15.

Tertul. ad Scap.

IX. Which is concerning the power of your Discipline in temporall things, wherein is a question whether our, or your discipline, *the chiefe Commander in the Camp royall*, have the greatest power. You do learnedly hold, that the Kings high Court of Parliament, *cannot hinder you to make Lawes Ecclesiasticall, seeing your Ecclesiasticall government is independent.* Yea, you doe hold, that your Assemblies may *repeale* and *adnull*, even the Ecclesiasticall lawes that are *confirmed* in Parliament, so that upon your re-calling them, the *sanction* of the Parliament is *nullitated*, and of no *effect*. Your own words are Emphaticall: *Albeit acts of generall Assemblies bee ratified in Parliament, yet a generall Assembly may recall those confirmed acts, which being*

Answer to the Marquess *Hamiltons* Declaration.

Ibidem.

adnulled, the civill ratification and ſanction falls ex conſequenti. Certainely, I dare promiſe you the Popes bleſſing for this moſt learned *Theſis*: for now *a door is opened to let in all Popery*, whether the King will or no; ſo that I truſt (as I ſaid at the beginning) our Union ſhalbe full. For ſince your Aſſemblies have ſuch power over Parliaments, as to *adnull all Eccleſiaſticall lawes confirmed therein* (as you have done already with Epiſcopacy and the articles of *Perth*, which ſtand ratified and confirmed by divers acts of Parliament) then it ſhall be eaſie for you at any Aſſembly, when or where you wil, to *repeal* and *adnul* all the eccleſiaſticall lawes *ratified* and *confirmed* by *Act of Parliament* in favour of the *Proteſtant Religion*: and to eſtabliſh new lawes for our Roman Religion in ſtead of it, though the *King, Parliament and Councell* ſhould reſiſt you. You have good reaſon for it: for as *Bellarmine* ſayes, *Habet ſe poteſtas eccleſiaſtica ad ſecularem, quomodo Spiritus ſe habet ad carnem, quam regit, moderatur, & aliquando cohibet. Caro autem nullum habet imperium in ſpiritum, neq; illum ulla in re dirigere, vel judicare, vel coercere poteſt. Sic igitur poteſtas eccleſiaſtica, qua ſpiritualis eſt, ac per hoc naturaliter ſeculari ſuperior, ſecularem poteſtatem cum opus eſt, dirigere, judicare, & coercere poteſt, ipſam verò à ſeculari dirigi vel coerceri nullâ ratione permittitur.* The *eccleſiaſticall power* is to the *ſecular power*, as the *ſpirit* is to the *fleſh*; which rules, moderates, and ſometimes reſtraines. But the *fleſh* hath no command over the *ſpirit*: neither can it direct, or judge, or reſtraine it in any thing. So then the *eccleſiaſticall power* which is ſpirituall, and therefore naturally *ſuperiour* to the *ſecular*, may *direct, judge*, and *reſtraine* the ſecular power when it is needfull. But by no reaſon is it permitted to bee *directed* or *reſtrained* by the *ſecular power*: and therefore when your King did by his Proclamation diſcharge your Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, which ought to *direct him*, and not bee *cohibited* or *reſtrained* by him, you did well to ſit ſtill, and *adnull* divers acts of Parliament. And in your *Proteſtation* againſt the Kings Proclamation for raiſing your Aſſembly, as it was your wiſdome not to enter into *direct* action with his Majeſty, ſo it was your courage, *to ſummon all the Lords of his Majeſties Councel who conſented to the Proclamation to appear before the Parliament the 25. of May*, 1639. There

Bell. de. clericis, lib. 1. cap. 29.

Proteſtat. Novemb. 29. 1638.

to

to be punished for giving the King *evill counsell*, viz. *to raise the Assemblies*. When the K. commands one thing by *acts of Parliament*, or by his *Proclamations*, you may *protest* against the same, and *command* the contrary in your *protestations* and *acts of Assemblie*: for, as we say well, *penes ecclesia præpositos facultas est amplissima interdicendi nobis, ne reges obedientiâ & obsequio nostro honoremus*. These that are set over us in the Church have a very large power given them, even to interdict us, that we honour not our Ks. with our obedience. So the Councell of Trent cómands all to receive the decrees, without regard to their *Princes consent*, and denounceth *excommunication* in case of refusall; requires an *oath of obedience*, approveth *violence* in rooting out of heresie, & ordains the Inquisition for them. Therfore when the King by his *Proclamation* did *command* that the *Covenant* of K. *James* as it was in 1581. yeer of God, should be subscribed, you by *your authority* did *prohibite* any to subscribe it, but will have *your own* subscribed. For this cause in your *general Assembly* you have set down *An act discharging subscription to the Covenant which was subscribed by the Kings Commissioner and Lords of the Councell*: which his Majesty, in his marginall note, calls *a traiterous act*. You have another excellent Act, *discharging all Printers in Scotland to print any thing in Ecclesiasticall affaires without the warrant of* Jhonston *your Clerk*. You have Acts also concerning *mills, salt pans, and market dayes on Munday and Saturday*. And especially your Assembly hath adnulled his Majesties *Court of high Commission*: all this we see in the *Index* of your Acts, & all is well done, though it encroach upon the *civill power*: for *in temporalibus Ecclesia non solùm præcipit, dirigit, sed coercet, disponit, virtute potestatis gubernativa*. In temporall things the Church not only *commands* & *directs*, but *restrains* & dispones by vertue of her *gubernative power*. And you know we do not maintain a *direct* power in *temporall things*, but an *indirect* power *in ordine ad spiritualia*; for we stand not upon *words*, when we are sure of the *matter it self*, and may bring all *temporality* within the compasse of *our power*. But I pray you, why did you forget to adnull the Acts of Parliament that doe ratifie the Kings *Supremacy*, especially in *spirituall things*? since you have adnulled other Acts of Parliament, why have you prejudged

Autor lib. ad persecut. Angl. fol. 336.

Odeard. West. in Sanctuar. juris Pontif. §. 6.

your

your ſelves ſo much as to leave thoſe acts for *Supremacie* uncancelled ? If you had remembred the complaint of your holy brethren in former times, you would not have forgotten this, but as you have *de facto*, taken it away, ſo *de jure*, you would have declared the ſame an *unlawfull act* : for (as your predeceſſors ſaid) If the King have *ſupreme power in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, then there is nothing left of the whole antient forme of Juſtices and policies in the ſpirituall eſtate, but a naked ſhadow.*

Thinus addition to *Holinſhed*, pag. 446

I goe on to a tenth Parallel, which is your *diſpenſation with oaths*, even with the *oath of Allegeance* and *Supremacy*, & with the *oath of Canonicall obedience*. You will not upbraid us again with this, as if we were only *enemies* and *traitors* to Kings: For we diſpence with no Subjects oath of Allegeance, ſo long as they defend the religion; but if they either fall from the religion themſelves, or will not defend it by the civill ſword, wee doe abſolve ſubjects of their *oath of Allegeance*, as wee did in the *holy League* of France, tying all to us by covenant very like unto yours, and in the end, took up armes againſt the King: for Kings fall from their authority, when they fall from religion, as you ſay in your Covenant : *The Kings authority and true religion are ſo ſtrictly joyned together, that they ſtand and fall together.* And therefore you do well to limit your obedience unto him, ſo long as he *defends the Religion and Lawes*, wherein if hee faile, by oath of Covenant you have made a *mutuall band of defence againſt him*, ſo that what is *done to the leaſt of you, ſhall be done to you all in generall and particular.* And ſo, if he ſhall doe any harme to the meaneſt *Kitchin boy*, you are all in generall & particular bound to take his part againſt your King. Now all this could not bee lawfully done, without a *Diſpenſation* and *Abſolution* from your oath of Allegeance taken long before the Covenant. Our enemies ſay, that they who thus being abſolved from their *oath of Allegeance*, doe take up armes againſt *their Prince*, will have ſuch ſucceſſe in the end, as *Radulphus* Duke of Swevia (whom Gregorie the ſeventh abſolved from his oath of Allegeance to *Henry* the fourth the Emperor,) received in battel againſt the Emperour, and hopes that they ſhall make the like confeſſion as he did. For he being deadly wounded in the right hand, ſaid to his company, *You ſee how my right hand is ſore*

Helmold in Chron. Slavorum. cap. 29.

X.

of

of a hurt, it is the hand whereby I sware to my Lord and Master, that I would never annoy him; that I would never lye in ambush to intercept his glory: but the Popes commands brought me to this, to breake my Oath, and usurpe an honour which was not due to me. You see what end it is come to, I have received this mortall Wound upon the hand that brake this Oath. Let them then who have incited us to do so, consider in what manner they urged us for feare that we be not brought to the downefall of damnation, &c. But be not you *troubled nor afraid of shadowes: But let unity be earnestly recommended, as that which strengthens the cause, and will make you invincible.* Your successe hath beene great hitherto, so that you may *have confidence for the time to come.* Covenanters inform. for Defensive. § 4. & 2.

You have also dispensed with the Oath of *Canonicall obedience:* for I cannot thinke that you would exact of your Clergie the Oath of *your Covenant*, except you did first give them a dispensation for their former Oathes. For all have sworne the Oath of Canonicall Obedience, some once, some thrice, and all admitted since the yeare 1618. had sworne to *Perths* Articles, and present government of the Church, and now have taken the direct contradictory Oath, and *abjured them all.* And therefore it was not ill advised by you, to make an Act in your generall Assemblie at *Glasgow, Novemb.* 1638. *declaring the nullity of the Oath exacted by Prelates of intrants, and of their bonds of Conformity.*

But here I must tell you, that you are gone a little beyond us in your dispensation with the *Oath of Allegiance* to your King, and taking the *Oath of mutuall defence* against him: for according to our practise, you ought by all means endeavoured to recall him from his errours, and being *obstinate*, then to excommunicate him: for as our *Tolet* saies well, *Licèt sit notorium crimen principis, non absolvuntur vasalli à juramento (ut bene dicit Cajetanus) ante denunciationem ab Ecclesia: quâ factâ, non solùm sunt absoluti ab obedientia, sed tenentur non obedire, nisi forte propter periculum vitæ, vel damnum bonorum temporalium.* Albeit the crime of the Prince bee notorious, yet the Vassals are not absolved from their Oath (as *Cajetan* saies well) before the sentence be denounced by the Church: which being done, they are not only absolved from

obedience, but alſo are bound not to obey, except perchance for danger of their life, or loſſe of temporall goods. And *Emanuel Sa* laies the ſame. *Tyrannicè gubernans, juſtè acquiſito Dominio non poteſt ſpoliari ſine publico judicio: latâ verò ſententiâ, poteſt quiſque fieri executor. Poteſt autem deponi à populo etiam qui illi juraverat obedientiam perpetuam, ſi monitus, non vult corrigi.* A Tyrant that ruleth tyrannically, cannot have his juſtly acquired Dominion taken from him, without publike judgement: but the ſentence being given, any man may be the executioner, and he may be depoſed by the people who have ſworne perpetuall obedience unto him, if after admonition hee will not be amended. And then it followeth clearely which *Suarez* ſaith, *Si ſubditi juramento ſoluti ſunt, quamvis rex ille proditionem vocet, omniſq; regni aut reipublica conſpirationem, revera tamen talis non eſt, ſed juſta defenſio, vel juſtum bellum, ſeu ſupplicium.* If the Subjects be abſolved from their oath, albeit that the King call it treaſon, and a conſpiracy of all the Kingdome and Common-wealth, yet certainly, it is no ſuch thing, but a juſt defence, or juſt warre, or puniſhment.

Emanuel Sa in voce Tyrannus.

Suarez lib. 6. cap 3.

But I muſt crave your pardon for ſaying, that you went beyond us; for there are ſome of us as hot-blouded as your ſelves. *De fide certum eſt quemcunque Principem Chriſtianum, ſi à Religione catholica deflexerit, & alios avocare voluerit, excidere ſtatim omni poteſtate & dignitate, idq; antè prolatam Papæ ſententiam: poſſéque & debere ſubditos, ſi vires habeant, iſtiuſmodi Hæreticum ex hominum Chriſtianorum dominatu ejicere.* It is certainly a matter of Faith, that whatſoever Chriſtian Prince ſhall depart from the Catholike religion, and ſhall withdraw others, doth immediately fall from all power and dignity, even before the Popes ſentence be given; and that the Subjects may, and ſhould (if they have ſtrength) caſt forth ſuch an Heretick from the dominion of Chriſtian men. To this purpoſe, your Reformer *Knox* ſayes well. *If Princes be Tyrants againſt God and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their Oath of Obedience.* And in his Hiſtory of Scotland, *pag.* 343. he ſets the Nobility on work, ſaying. *God hath appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes, and in ſo doing, they cannot*

Philopat. 2. pag. 109.

Knox to England and Scotland, fol. 78.

not be accuſed, as reſiſters of Authority. And againe, *It is the duty of the Nobility to repreſſe the rage and inſolency of Princes,* and then, he conjoynes the Nobility and the people together againſt the *Supreme Magiſtrate,* ſaying, *The Nobility and Commonalty ought to reforme Religion, and in that caſe may remove from honours, and may puniſh ſuch, as God hath condemned,* Deut. 12. *of what eſtate, condition, or honour ſoever.* For as he ſayes well in the ſame place, *The puniſhment of ſuch crimes as touch the Majeſty of God, doth not appertaine to Kings and chiefe Rulers onely, but alſo to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the ſame; as occaſion, vocation, and ability ſhall ſerve to revenge the injury done againſt God.* I will not ſpend time to ſhew this by your practiſes againſt *Queene regent,* who did oppoſe your courſe, how by M. *Knox* and his followers, an *Oath of Confederacy* was taken: and *the Nobility threatned to joyne with you under the paine of excommunication.* pag. 272. Then an imperious letter was written to her Majeſty, that if ſhe ſhould hinder their reformation, * *They ſhould be compelled to take the Sword of juſt defence:* and proteſted that without the reformation which they deſired, *they would never be ſubject to any mortall man.* And laſt of all, They depoſed her Majeſty at the Councell of our good friend, M. *Knox,* by a formall act penned by M. *Knox,* and ſet downe in his Hiſtory of the *Church* of *Scotland.* And you doe well (as you ſay in your Covenant) *to follow the laudable example of your Progenitors,* as dutifull children, according to that of the Wiſeman, *Heare, ye children, the inſtruction of a father, and attend to know underſtanding: for I give you good doctrine; forſake you not my law.* And our worthy Father *Mariana* hath ſhowne you a ready way, which you, as dutifull Sonnes, have hitherto diligently followed. *Non diſſimulandum eſſe, expeditam autem maximè, & tutam viam eſſe, ſi publici conventus facultas detur, communi conſenſu, quid ſtatuendum ſit deliberare, fixum ratúmque habere quod communi ſententiâ ſteterit. Movendus imprimis Princeps erit, atque ad ſanitatem revocandus,* &c. *què ſi medicinam reſpuat, neque ſpes ulla ſanitatis relinquatur, ſententiâ pronunciatâ, licebit reipublicæ ejus imperium detrectare primum. Et quoniam bellum neceſſariò concitabitur, ejus defendi*

Knox Appeal. fol. 33.

Ibid. fol. 28. & 30.

Knox hiſt. of the Church of Scotland page 217.

* *Ibid.* 265.

page 378.

Prov. 4. 1.

Marian. lib. 6 de reg. cap. 6 p. 59.

 dendi

dendi consilia explicare, expedire arma, pecunias in belli sumptus imperare populis: & si res ferret, neque aliter se respublica tueri posset, eodem defensionis jure, ac verò potiori auctoritate & propria, principem publicè hostem declaratum FERRO PERIMERE. This is not to be dissembled, that it is the most expedient and safe way, if a publike meeting may be granted, to deliberate what shall be done by common consent, to hold that as firme and sure, which shall be concluded by common consent. First of all, the Prince is to be admonished, and to be brought to his wits againe, &c. If he reject the medicine, and no hope of his recovery be left, when the sentence is passed upon him, the Commonwealth may first refuse his command; and because of necessitie, there will be a stirring up for warre, they may unfold their counsels for defence thereof, and shew that it is expedient to have armour, and to command the people to advance monies for the charge of the warres. And if the matter will suffer, and the Common-wealth cannot otherwise defend it selfe, with that same right of defence, but with a *better authority*, and peculiar of their owne, they may kill the Prince, being declared publikely an enemy.

You have followed this counsell so full, that you have practised it to the last *comma*; yea, till you come to the last two words, FERRO PERIMERE. At which, the *Anti-covenanter* cries out with a shout, *God save the King, let his soule be bound up in the bundle of life.* Let this dreame of *Ferro perimere* bee to them that hate him; and the interpretation thereof to his enemies.

* To conveene them from *Dan* even to *Beer-sheba*.

First of all, you sent from *Edinburg*, thousands of Letters to all corners of the kingdome for a * *publike convention*; then by the *common consent* of all that appeare, your Covenant (made by the chiefe men of the confederacy) was *sworn* and *subscribed*, and all of them (bound not to give obedience to the King) but to hold sure and firme, what should be thought *good by common consent*. Your admonitions, supplications and protestations have beene multiplied, but all in vaine: for, as you say in your protestations, he is so farre from acknowledging those things to bee *unlawfull*, which you have

have condemned, that in his Proclamations he holdeth the plaine *contrary opinion*; and only doth remove them, as they ſay, for the hardneſſe of your heart, and to preſerve peace in the Land. And therefore, ſince he rejects your medicine, as poyſon; Is there any hope of his recovery, that is, that ever he ſhall be of your *judgement?*

And as for *lata ſententia*, though it be not done *formally*, yet it's done very *materially*, in every corner of the Kingdome. It's a remarkable ſentence paſt by one of you, preaching upon ſome text of the Prophet *Zachary* (though it may be ſaid, that his Commenter was from 2 *Sam.* 15. 16.) *The Lord hath forſaken our King, and given him over to be led by the Biſhops, the blind brood of Antichriſt; who are but begles, hunting for the bloud of Gods Saints.* R. B. And another preached as well upon the 1 *Cor.* 10. 1. Where he told, that they of the holy Covenant were like *Iſrael at the red ſea, and Pharaoh and his Hoſt comming upon them.* D. E. Another was as forward as any of them, When hee compared the King to a wicked *Italian*, who delighted to *kill men both in ſoul and body.* H. R. Another that he might hinder the people ro ſubſcribe the Kings Covenant, preached unto them, *That the Kings offer of the Covenant to them was, like Ioabs ſalutation of Amaſa, who tooke him by the beard, and ſaid, art thou well my brother, and then ſtabbed him in the fifth rib.* G. Y. And M. *Cant* (whom for honours ſake I name) his Sermon at *Glaſgow* is knowne to all our Society, he prayed God *to take away the Kings Idolatry, and ſaid, that the deare Saints in England had their noſe and their eares ſlit, for the profeſſion of the Goſpell.* I might be infinite in this point, but becauſe it is ſo well known, I ſpare further inſtancing.

The next point is *Detractatio imperij*, this you have done excellently, by not only refuſing obedience to his *Laws civill* and *eccleſiaſticall*, and to his *Proclamations*; but alſo by continuall *proteſting* againſt him, and exhorting all to ſtand to the *Covenant.* You have alſo kept your *counſell of warre*, provided *Armour*, laid *taxations* on the people to defray the charges: and the King is *publicè hoſtis declaratus*, publikely declared to be your enemy by the miniſtery, preſſing them to Armes by your learned informations: and have taken all his Caſtles and

Protest. at Edenburg. 18. Decemb. 1638

strength from him, and say that they are the keyes *of your owne kingdome, which you will keepe your selves.* And lastly you are come so neere to *Ferro perimere*, that you have met him with offensive armes. But I pray you, what made you stand here? what made you make a period, where was no comma? Can you thinke it unlawfull to kill a King, and yet set your muskets, pikes, and Canons before the face of a King, and shoot at randome? It cannot be, that you have learned *Knox* and *Buchanan* so ill, and you deserve no reward. Let that golden sentence of *Buchanan* never be forgotten. Whiles he saies, *It were good that rewards were appointed by the people, for such as should kill tyrants, as commonly there is for those, that have killed either Wolves or Beares, or taken their whelps.*

Buch. de jure reg. apud Scot. pag. 40.

Suarez. lib. 5. §. 6.

Your case was, that which is supposed by *Suarez. Si supponatur rex aggrediens civitatem ut illam injustè perdat, & cives interficiat, vel quid simile, tunc certè licebit principi resistere, etiam occidendo illum, si aliter fieri non possit defensio, tum quia si pro vita propria hoc licet, multo magis pro communi bono, tum etiam quia civitas ipsa tunc habet justum bellum defensivum, contra injustum invasorem, etiamsi proprius sit rex.* If it be supponed that the King is comming against a citie, unjustly to destroy it, and to kill the Citizens, or any such like thing, Then certainly, they may resist the Prince, even killing him, if they cannot otherwise defend themselves: both because, if this be lawfull to be done for a mans owne life, much more for the common good, and also because the citie it selfe hath then a just defensive warre against an unjust invader, albeit he were their owne King. This *Thesis* hath beene well studied by you, for it is the ground of all your learned arguments for warre.

But now since his Majestie is returned backe againe with his army, and this first storme is gone without hurt, be not you idle, but labour for some friends at Court, who may inform you of his Majesties *Proceedings.* And if you send any to court, let that be ever one of your instructions, which you gave to the Earle of *Dumfermling*, and the Lord *Lowden. To have frequent and sure advertisement to you how affaires go, with their advise. Amen.* And be still upon your guard, and let the *Flaccinian*

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cinian counſell take place with you (if you heare that he ſhall refuſe to approve of your proceedings) *to affright him with the terrour of inſurrection againe.* And deſire all that are doubtfull and ſcrupulous of this matter to read *Knox* Hiſtory and *Buchanans*, where th y ſhall finde our doctrine very cleare. The peoples power is great. *Populus rege eſt præſtantior & melior, &c.* The people are better then the King, and of greater authority. For *the people hath the ſame power over the King, that the King hath over any one perſon. Populo jus eſt, ut imperium cui vult deferat*, the people have power to beſtow the crowne at their pleaſure: its not *birthright*, nor *ſucceſſion*, nor *propinquity of blond* that muſt be reſpected. Therefore *Knox* wrote to England and Scotland; Its not *birth-right only, nor propinquity of blond that maketh a King lawfully to raigne above a people, profeſſing Chriſt Ieſus.* Let his Majeſty know that you are no *Dunces*, but men of learning who know the greatnes of your power, and the ſmalneſſe of his, notwithſtanding of the flattery of Court Paraſites.

Buch. de jure reg. pag. 61. *Idem page 50.* *Fol. 77.*

But before I end this point, I cannot but admire why you have not continued your Parliament even to the end, but ſuffered his Majeſtie to adjourne it, you profeſſe that *you follow the laudable example of your progenitors*, but if you do as they did 1560. you would not grant his Majeſty a *Negative voice*, nor ſuffer the Parliament to bee adjourned, but to have done with it as you did with the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, *Novemb.* 29. 1638. to continue it to the end, and then for the faſhion to have ſought *his Approbation*: for the reaſon is alike, as your aſſemblies are above him *in ſpiritualibus*, ſo is your Parliaments *in temporalibus*, and may be holden though there bee neither Sword, Scepter, nor Crown there. For as *Knox* ſaith, *thoſe things were rather pompous and glorious vaine Ceremonies, then any ſubſtantiall points of neceſſity required to any lawfull Parliament.* And therefore after you had kept that Parliament of your own accord in *anno* 1560. for the *faſhions* ſake, you ſend to the King of *France* and your Scotch Queene his wife, to deſire them to ratifie the ſame. But upon their refuſall you ſpake as it became you, of their ratification. *We little regarded it, or yet doe regard: for all that we did was rather to*

Knox hiſt. of the Church of Scotland page 502. *Idem page 500.*

ſhow

ſhew our dutifull obedience, then to beg of them any ſtrength to our Religion. If you goe not thus farre, you come ſhort in following the laudable example of your Progenitors. And yet when I conſider the inſtructions given by the body of the Parliament to the Earle of *Dunfermling*, and the Lord *Lowdon*, I perceive that you are not a foot behinde your Progenitors, ſeeing you will not grant it to bee in the Kings power to prorogate the aſſembly, except you all conſent unto it, for your ſixth Article of the *inſtructions* is thus. *Item, If the King will not condeſcend to goe on preſently in Parliament, that the King prorogate the Parliament with conſent of the States, according to the conditions which you have.* I ſee further, that if he prorogate the aſſembly, it muſt not only be with your conſent, but alſo he muſt grant your petition ſent to his Majeſty, by the Earle of *Kinoull* from the Parliament; before you will grant to any peaceable concluſion, or prorogation of the Parliament: for your ſole Argument to have your petition granted is in theſe words. *Without this point be granted, it is not poſſible to make a peaceable concluſion, or that they can reſt ſatisfied with the prorogation of the Parliament.* And leſt that the people ſhould reſt ſatisfied herewith, and your *Democracy* take no good ſucceſſe, the Miniſters would be exhorted to doe their part, not to ſuffer the people to ſettle upon their dregs, but to hold them in perpetuall motion till it end, to your perpetuall quietneſſe. This was the practiſe of the zealous Miniſters your Predeceſſors in the dayes of Queene-*Regent*, Queene *Mary* and in the tender age of King *Iames*, who did both in private and publike oppone themſelves to authority for the maintenance of our tenents concerning the *civill Magiſtrate*, and our other Prerogatives. This made King *Iames* our common enemy, ſpeake the truth in exceeding harſh termes, while he ſaid. *E miniſterio homines nonnulli præcipites, ignei, audaces, in hac humanarum divinarúmq; rerum confuſione, tam gratioſi apud plebem fuiſti ſunt, ut deguſtata dominationis dulcedine, ceperunt Democraticam reipub. formam ſibi ſomniare; & primo avia, deinde matrismea ſubverſione elati (& nimirum blandiebatur iis ſucceſſus) poſtremo pupillari mea ætate ad Democratia ſua ſtabilimentum diu abuſ, jam poteſta-*

November 2. 1639.

Baſilic. doron. page 147.

potestatem tribunitiam spe certa devoraverant : ut in populari republica cum plebem, quò vellent facilè circumducerent, omnium negotiorum momenta soli temperarent. Itaq; nulla in mea pupillari ætate vel post, seditio contigit, quin hos homines sui furoris et amentiæ patronos seditiosi facere conati sint. Crebræ adversus me in tribunitijs concionibus calumniæ spargebantur, non quod crimen aliquod designassem, sed quia rex eram, quod omni crimine pejus habebatur. Some head-strong, fiery, bold men of the Ministers in this confusion of humane and divine things, became so gracious with the multitude, that having tasted the sweetnesse of government, they began to dreame to themselves a Democraticall forme of the Common-wealth. And first being puffed up with the overthrow of my Grandmother : and secondly, of my owne mother, (and truly their successe flattered them :) Last of all, having long time abused my tender age for the establishing of their Democracie, they had already by an assured hope fully taken to themselves a tribunitiall power : that in a popular Common-wealth, they alone ruled all businesse of moment, seeing they might easily leade the people, whither they pleased. And therefore, no sedition hath hapned either in my tender age or afterward, wherein the seditious did not make those men (the Ministers) the patrons of their fury and madnesse. There were frequent calumnies scattered abroad in their Tribunitiall Sermons against me, not that I had committed any crime, but because I was a King, which was esteemed worse than all crimes. Indeed I find our Father *Becanus* telling the same, that you are enemies to Monarchie, in the example of Queen *Mary. An non Serenissima Maria, Serenissimi Iacobi mater habuit primatum temporalem in Scotia ? omnino habuit, An non per vos de facto privata est ? Nemo dubitat.* Had not the most illustrious Queene *Mary*, the mother of the most excellent King *Iames*, the Supremacy *in temporall things* in Scotland ? [for neither you nor we well let them have it in *spirituall things*] certainly she had it : but did not you deprive her of it ? no man doubts of it. *Becan. examen. Concord. Angl.*

I will follow out then another paralell, and that is, *De cæcâ obedientiâ.* Of blinde obedience, which we both require XI.

now of our people. Your Covenant was mightily called in queſtion, even by the Commons, and yet you forced them to ſweare, and ſubſcribe it upon your bare word? telling them, that ſince the Church-men have ſworn & ſubſcribed it themſelves, that the Commons ought to do it, *and follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furniſhed with courage and counſell, for the good of his Kirk and Kingdome.* I heare, that the things which you have condemned in your generall Aſſembly, were in the judgement of the common people of a contrary nature; but now, having in their Covenant ſworne in *judgement* and *practice*, to follow the determination of the firſt generall aſſembly that ſhould be kept, they are forced to forſake their owne judgement, and embrace the contrary, by vertue of the power of the generall aſſembly. To this purpoſe we ſay: The people are to ſubject to their Leaders, that if they erre in defining any doubt, the people* *vi regiminis*, by the force of our government over them, ought to erre. For in this blind obedience, **requiritur propriæ voluntatis & judicii abnegatio, mancipatio, & in poteſtatem ſuperioris deditio.* There is required the denyall of our owne will and judgement, and a giving our ſelves over, as ſlaves in the power of our Superiors. To this purpoſe your *Andrew Cant* (whom I name oft for honours ſake) anſwered, as he was very able to doe, to thoſe who would have heard of him ſome reaſons for the ſubſcription of the Covenant, which he ſo earneſtly recommended in *Glaſgow*, and never brought a reaſon for it; he told them true, that they muſt *deny learning and reaſon, and help Chriſt a lift.* And our ever honoured Generall, the firſt Founder of our Society, *Ignatius Loyola*, tels us, that *Prudentia eſt imperantis, non obedientis.* Wiſdome belongeth to the Commander, not to the obeyer. And therefore his ordinance is this to his followers. *Statuere debetis vobiſcum, quicquid ſuperior præcipit ipſius Dei præceptum eſſe & voluntatem, atque ut ad credenda quæ fides catholica proponit, toto animo aſſenſuq; veſtro ſtatim incumbitis, ſic ad ea facienda quæcunque ſuperior dixerit, cæco quodam impetu voluntatis parendæ cupidæ, ſine ulla prorſus diſquiſitione feramini.* You ought to reſolve with your ſelves, that whatſoever your Superiour commands you, is the command and will of God him-

* *Colloq. Ratisbon. Seſſ. 9. pag. 282. & 288.*
* *Haſenmul. pag. 175.*

Ignat. Ep. ſt. de viatut. obed. 18.

himſelf. And even as you without delay yeeld with ful mind and aſſent to believe thoſe things which the Catholike faith propones; ſo you ought to be carried to the doing of whatſoever your ſuperiour ſhal ſay, with a certaine blind force of a will, that is deſirous to obey. So ſaid your *Cant* in that ſame Sermon at *Glaſgow*, while he told the people, to whom he recommended the Covenant, *That he was ſent to them with a cõmiſſion from Chriſt to bid them ſubſcribe the Covenant, which was Chriſts contract, and that he himſelf was come as a wooer to them for the bridegroom, and called upon them to come to be handfaſted by ſubſcribing that contract.* And told them plainly, *that he would not depart the town, till he got the names of all, who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe that contract, of whom he promiſed to complain to his Maſter.*

I have yet more matter of congratulation: for, wheras formerly you did hold that Eccleſiaſticall lawes do not *bind the conſcience*, you do well now to maintain the contrary. And therfore you have deſervedly depoſed, & thruſt from amongſt you thoſe miniſters, who only offered to ſuffer your laws bind the outward wan, and to conform with you in practice, but would not covenant with you, nor ſwear to be of your *judgement*. As for example. They promiſed to *ſit* at the receiving of the Communion, as you do ſit on your taile, and thus would conform in *practice* with you, but they requeſted you not to burden their *conſcience, to believe ſitting only neceſſary*, and that *kneeling is idolatry*. The like may be inſtanc'd in all the reſt of the matters controverted amongſt you. Since they would therfore conform *in practice*, and only differ *in judgement*; why might not you compell them to ſubſcribe the covenant, and make them ſwear with you *before God and the world, that they were convinced in their conſciences, of the lawfulnes of ſuch things*. The Scripture bids *compel men to the wedding*, neither need you regard them, who cal your *holy violence* a *Spaniſh inquiſition*. XII.

Furthermore, I am confident that you ſhall not bee ſuch enemies to our *workes of ſupererogation*, as formerly you have beene: For when the King urged you to ſubſcribe the *confeſſion of faith*, you refuſed it, drawing your reaſon from the very ground. which hath produced all our *workes of ſu-* XIII.

perrogation, which is this, *That a good work, which is done of a mans owne accord, is more excellent then that which is done by command of a Superiour*, as you reaſon learnedly in your proteſtation in *September* 1638. and ſo conclude, that you have done a more ſyncere worke, and acceptable in covenanting without authoritie, than if you ſhould doe it now at the command of your Superiour: for, (as you ſay) thus doing, *the more libertie, the leſſe hypocriſy and more ſynceritie hath appeared.* If this ground of yours be removed, then both your *Covenant*, and our *Evangelicall counſels* will periſh. And yet the *Anti-covenanter* will ſay, that the Scripture cals him the good ſervant that doth his Maſters will: and whoſoever do more than they are commanded by their Maſters, get *Affricanus* thanks: *non amo dimium eiligentes*,

XIV. I thought to have congratulated with you, that you are moſt like unto us in *Equivocation*; for your owne ends, to perſwade the people to believe, that which your own heart knoweth to be moſt falſe. As for example, to perſwade the people before they did ſubſcribe the covenant, that it is for defence of the King, againſt whom (you ſay) no man is bound by the covenant to riſe up in defenſive armes: and that you are only bound to ſuffer, if his Majeſtie were to invade you. But when they have ſubſcribed, then you tell them that they muſt provide armour to reſiſt the Kings comming to invade you. This made many poore ſimple men complain, that they were wronged, and that they would at leaſt be perjured, if they ſhould doe ſo. Yet the Scripture is plain for ſuch equivocation: for when the army ſent by the King of *Syria* came to *Dothan*, where the Prophet *Eliſha* was, to fetch him to the King; the Prophet came
2 King. 6. 19. out to them and ſaid, *This is not the way, neither is this the city, follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom you ſeek. But he led them to Samaria*, the quite contrary way. But here is the difference between you and the prophet, that when he had miſled them and brought them to Samaria, he did not detaine them as captives from their maſters, but ſaid, *ſet bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their Maſters.* But you do not ſo, but keep them in the net, in the which they are taken, that they cannot eſcape; but muſt joyne with

you

you againſt their Maſter: to whom they ſhall n ot return, but with defenſive armes; ſuch as are not ſhield and buckler, but pike, musket, and canon. I commend your po licie herein, for you know that the King doth not thinke, that the common people did ever aime at the *contents* and *conſequents* of the Covenant, and ſo doth not impute any *diſloyal ie* unto them: and when he ſees that you have them ſo cloſe tyed unto you, they become your *buckler* and *defenſive* armes; for whoſe ſake he hath ſpared you, whom he thinkes to be heads of *a faction* againſt him, ſo that here *multitudo ſociorum parit impunitatem criminum*. And to ſpeak the truth, ſeeing he condemneth your *zeal to religion*, as if it *were rebellion* againſt him; and yet hath given you ſuch way, without curbing your courſe in the beginning, we cannot but ſay, that his innate love to his ancient Kingdome, whereof he hath given plentifull teſtimonies, hath brought him to this ſtrait, that he hath neglected his Fathers direction, which he was taught by *experience*, and which King *Charles* will teach his Son by a *double example*. *Baſilic. Dorm. pag. 145.* The direction was this, *Si ab initio clementiam oſtentes, creſcet in immenſum delinquentium numerus, creſcet tui contemptus: & tùm punire volueris, major erit ſontium quàm inſontium numerus nec promptum erit diſcernere unde facere oporteat initium pœnæ, Atque ita multos perdes invitus, quos tempeſtivâ paucorum pœnâ ſervare potuiſſes. Tu meo ex exemplo potes hic eſſe cautior, nam ego cum manſuetudine mea inſtituiſſem populum trahere ad legum obedientiam; contra accidit, ut omnia plena facta ſint tumultibus. Ego verò pro mercede ne grates quidem retulerim.* If at the beginning thou ſhew clemency, the number of delinquents will greatly increaſe, and the contempt of thy ſelfe will increaſe: and when thou wilt puniſh delinquents, the number of the guiltie will be more then of the innocent, neither ſhall it be readie for thee to diſcerne, whereat thou muſt begin puniſhment. And ſo thou ſhalt deſtroy many againſt thy will, which thou mighteſt ſave by the timely puniſhment of a few. In this point thou mayſt be more warie by my example: For when I had purpoſed by meekneſſe, to draw the people to the obedience of the laws, the contrary happened; ſo that all was filled with uproares. And as for me, I got not ſo much as thanks for my reward.

But go you on, and that you may more and more perſwade them to adhere unto you, tell them as you doe, that if they ſhall come under the Kings power, he will utterly deſtroy them, and that his Proclamations and promiſes are not to be regarded, ſince in your judgement he hath broken the oath at his Coronation, when he ſware to God to defend his truth: but would now if you did not reſiſt him, deſtroy the religion, the laws and liberties of this Church and Kingdome, as your Proteſtations and Informations for war do fully ſhew.

It was alſo a notable Equivocation, whereby you thruſt the ſimple people from ſubſcribing the Kings Covenant, commanded by his Majeſtie to be ſubſcribed, as it was profeſſed in *anno* 1581. and not according to your new interpretation added unto it. For in the 1581. it was a Covenant drawne up at his Majeſties ſpeciall command, and by his *ſpeciall authority*, the oath and ſubſcription was preſcribed to his Subjects, and ſo they ſware according to the meaning of the King, that was the exacter of this Oath. So that while his Majeſtie requireth it now to be ſubſcribed, as it was profeſſed then, hee doth it in oppoſition to this preſent time, wherein you have put a new Commenter upon it, directly contrary to the meaning of King *Iames*, who firſt preſcribed it. And it's too evident that Ieſuitiſme and Puritaniſme were both odious to him, and that it was his chiefe labour (as hee ſayes himſelfe) to hold up that which you are caſting downe, ſo that one of you doth not erre, while you call him your enemie *in ſuperlativo, infeſtiſſimus hoſtis.* But you did hinder the ſubſcription by a moſt excellent equivocation, while you ſay, *That you would be guiltie of mocking of God, and take his name in vain: and as We are not to multiply miracles on Gods part; ſo ought we not to multiply oathes and covenants on our part, and thus to play with oathes, as children do with toyes.* Thus the people who were with-holden from the Covenant, thinke that all was true, which you ſaid, not obſerving that it was an Equivocation: and alſo a *pia fraus*: for if they had but obſerved your practice, they would have ſeen it contrary to this reaſon of yours; for how oft have you ſworne and ſubſcribed your own covenant? At *Edenburgh* where you made it, it was ſworne

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and

and ſubſcribed by you; when you came home to your Pariſhes, it was reiterated ſolemnly by you; when you went to other Pariſhes, you did, as good examples to them, renew it againe and againe, and thought it no *mocking of God, nor multiplying of oaths, or taking his name in vaine.*

But I obſerve another notable Equivocation, which is ſo profound in one part of it, that I think we muſt be your diſciples to learne it: while you ſay, *The ſwearer is not bound to the meaning of the preſcriber of the Oath, nor to his own meaning; but is obliged to the reality* rei juratæ. I am ſorry that you were put to this ſtrait, to finde out this evaſion. The truth was (as I perceive) that your affrighting them *with mocking of God, and taking his name in vaine*, did not hinder, but many thouſands did ſubſcribe after the *Lord Commiſſioner*, and Lords of Counſell. And this oath being taken, as it was in the 1581. yeare of God, when King *Iames* exacted it, it is too evident a conſequence, that all that have taken this oath, are ſo farre from abjuring Epiſcopacie, and the Articles of Perth, &c. that by the contrary, they are obliged to defend the ſame: So that they may ſay with King *Iames*, *Mihi præcipuus labor eſt dejectos Epiſcopos reſtituere, & Puritanorum anarchiam expugnare.* Now, though in your proteſtation againſt the ſubſcription of it, you made it one of your reaſons why you could not ſubſcribe it, b. cauſ. it was to be exacted according to the meaning of the exacter, which is King *Charles*, Heire of his Fathers opinions, as well as of his Dominions: yet ſince it is ſubſcribed by many, according to the meaning of the exacter, you remove that rub, by ſaying, that they are not bound to ſweare and ſubſcribe according to the meaning of the preſcriber of the oath. This is well, for then, when any taketh an oath, he may ſweare, not according to the exacters meaning, but according to his owne; and ſo none needs to know what we ſweare.

Anſwer to the Marqueſſe of *Hamiltons* Declaration.

Proteſt. Sept. 1638.

But the ſubſcribers will ſay, we took the oath according to the meaning of the *preſcriber*, and both our meanings, both who did *exact* and *take* the oath, was, that Epiſcopacie and Perths Articles were not abjured. To this you anſwer, that they are not bound to take it according to either of their meanings,

nings, but according to the realitie *rei jurate*. If it be ſo, neither the exacter, nor the taker of the oath did know what they ſware and ſubſcribed unto. If this be to ſweare blinde obedience, I approve it, if not, I will be glad to be farther made perfect in equivocating: for I can finde no third, but either the oath muſt be taken according to the meaning of the *exacter*, or of the *taker*.

But I take your meaning to be, that that oath of the *Kings Covenant* ought to be taken, as we thought to have done with the *Oath of allegiance* taken by Romane Catholikes in England. The King with his Councell uſed all the wit and prudence that could be had, to cauſe them to take the oath without any *Equivocation*, or *mentall reſervation*, and that they ſhould take no *diſpenſation* from the Pope, for taking ſuch an oath: ſo that in this caſe, it was made ſo cleare, that both the *preſcriber* and the *taker* of the oath could not differ, but be of one mind. But our *Paſcenius* did laugh this diligence to ſcorne, and found out a prettie way to elude ſuch an oath, by telling them, that if the Pope did diſſolve that oath, and declare it unlawfull, they were no more tied to ſuch an oath.

Paſcen. Reſpon. ad Ep. Monitor. Iacob. Reg. tit. B. 2. 3.

Vide (inquit) in tanta aſtutia quanta ſit ſimplicitas, juramentum tot circumſtantiis connexuiſſe exiſtimabat, ut ſalvâ conſcientiâ, nullâ ratione à quoquam diſſolvi poſſit. Sed videre non potuit, ſi pontifex juramentum diſſolverit, omnes illius nexus, ſive de fidelitate Regi præſtanda, ſive de diſpenſatione non admittenda, pariter diſſolutos fore. Immò aliud dicam admirabilius, juramentum ſi injuſtum apertè declaretur, neminem obligat, ſed ipſo facto *nullum eſt. Regis verò juramentum injuſtum eſſe ab ipſo eccleſiæ paſtore ſufficienter declaratum eſt. Vides jam in fumum abiiſſe illius obligationem, ut vinculum quod à tot ſapientibus ferreum putabatur, minus ſit quàm ſtramineum.* Behold (ſayes he) how much ſimplicity is in ſo much ſubtilty; he thought to have bound this oath by ſo many circumſtances, that it could be diſſolved no manner of way by any man with a ſafe conſcience. But he could not ſee, that, if the Pope ſhould diſſolve this oath, all the knots of it, whether it be of fidelity to be performed to the King, or of a diſpenſation not to be admitted, are both alike diſſolved. Yea, I will tell another more marvel-

marvellous thing, if it be openly declared that the oath is unjuſt, it doth oblige no man, but by the fact it ſelfe it is null. Now this oath of the King is ſufficiently declared by the paſtor of the Church himſelfe to be unjuſt. Now thou ſees that the obligation of it is evaniſhed in ſmoake: ſo that, that bond, which by ſo many wiſemen was thought to be ſtrong as iron, is weaker than a rope of ſtraw.

Thus it was with your Covenant, King *Charles* was very careſull to have it ſubſcribed according to his Fathers meaning, who did preſcribe the oath *anno* 1581. and his owne meaning, which was the ſame with his Fathers, who approved *Epiſcopacie* and *Perths Articles*. So that all equivocation is here excluded: But (this *Paſcenius* trick makes all cleare) if *Dickſon* or *Henderſon*, &c. ſhall diſſolve this oath, and declare it unlawfull, it hath no force, as being not according to the *reality* of the things themſelves: and thus, are none more tied to the King by Covenant, but may break it as eaſily as *Sampſon* did his cords, and muſt run your courſe againſt his Majeſty. I might inſiſt on many inſtances to prove Equivocation amongſt you, if it were needfull, but I am confident you ſhall not be ſuch enemies to it in time to come.

Moreover, your *pie frandes* have not a little advanced your courſes, for though the generall cauſe of all this uproare was pretended to be for defence of religion, lawes and liberties, yet (to ſpeake under the Roſe) it flowed from private cauſes and reſpects, for (not to ſpeak of the contempt of Monarchy, nor of private fretting againſt Soveraignty by malecontents) the courſe his Majeſty was taking with the tythes, to deliver the miniſtry, and meaner ſort of the Laitie from that which was counted bondage and ſlaverie, made many fret to ſee themſelves robbed of that clientely and dependance of the Clergie and Laitie, and of that power, command and ſuperiority, which by the tye of tythes they did enjoy. Some had their private quarrels againſt the Biſhops, many could not abide to ſee them preferred to be on his Majeſties Counſell, &c. And a great hatred was working againſt them, for being the chiefe inſtruments that the Miniſters maintenance was augmented, and many of the Tythes reſtored backe againe, XV.

which made many thinke that in the end all the tythes, and Church-lands would returne to the ancient owner, whereby many would be brought to a poore estate, if the tythes were taken from them, and some who have made Churches their habitation would not have a dwelling place at all; and some others being ambitious of preferment both in Church and Policie, were no small causes of all this uproare. Now howbeit, from those and such like other motives, this disorder hath come, yet its well dissembled by you, in taking this opportunitie, to work your private intended ends, by making the multitude believe that all is for defence of Religion; laws and liberties, which otherwise would be destroyed.

His Holines our Pope, did never laugh more heartily, than when it was told him, that you made the people believe that the book of Common Prayer was penned at Rome, and sent to the King, and that it was nothing but the masse turned into English; and that the King was a Papist, and intended to change the Religion; That your Bishops were Pensioners to the Pope, and that all, who would not subscribe your covenant, are Papists; truly he commended your policie, to catch children with wiles, and men with lies. The aspersions you have cast upon King, Bishops, and Anticovenanters will make you noble. It's a good policie still to complain of Court and State, and to prie into great mens lives, to picke out some fault, and to make faults where we finde none: still with *Absalom* saying, The men who have good and right causes, have no man to heare them, *Oh that I were made Judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause, might come unto me, and I would doe him justice.* Thus the silly multitude will lightly apprehend that you are blamelesse, who doe so narrowly trie, and crie out against the faults of others, whom howbeit you do not wound, yet in the vulgar opinion you do greatly stain and blot them.

2 Sam. 15. 3, 4.

XVI. Finally, we have both suffered much of our enemies for our *practice against Kings and Princes*, in cutting them away that are enemies to the religion. We need not be ashamed to confesse, that the *armour* wherwith such kings are killed, are forged in *our shop*: you know that *Hacket* and *Coppinger* who wrote

wrote to Scotland to *James Gibson*, that he with the advise of the brethren, might tell their opinion concerning the spirit that moved them, and the act that they had in hand to bee done, for the delivery of *T. Cartwright* out of prison, and killing of all their withstanders. That which *Raviliack* did *effectu*, was no more praise-worthy than that which they did *affectu*: all those our workes are not to be accounted points of *treason*, but only *sensible expressions* of our Heroicall zeal to the *defence of Religion*, which ought to be more deare to us, than Kings or Princes, father or mother, brother or sister, all those cords must bee broke, and bonds cast from us, when we see them to set themselves to take counsell against the Lords Annointed. Such men of courage who put their life in their hand and cut off such wicked men, ought to be so far from being counted traitors, that they should be rewarded for doing it, as your *Buchanan* sayes. *Knox* in his history of Scotland commends the privie murdering of the Cardinall of S. *Andrewes* perpetrated by Norman *Lesley* son to the Earle of *Rothsey*, and *James Melvin* cals it a godly fact, and propones it as an example to be followed by the posteritie.

In your Zions Plea, and other papers, you speak excellently of that Heroicall fact of *Felton* your Martyr, and pathetically exhort the nobles of the Land to follow his footsteps, saying; *God hath chalked out the way unto you, God having offered himself to guide you by the hand, in giving this first blow, will you not follow home? the sprinkling of the blood of the wolf, if we can follow the Lord in it, may prove a meanes to save us. The counsel of Hushai to Absalom serveth well with this businesse, that all Israel should be gathered from Dan to Beersheba, as the sand on the sea in number, who may with the ropes of their Prayers joyned* to the power of your hands, *draw the city of their Babel into the river of destruction, untill there be not one small stone found.* Du. Buck.

You have most zealously embraced this profitable exhortation: and albeit your intended worke tooke but small successe, yet let not this interruption bequench your zeale, nor cause your heroicall spirits to faile, but bee forward in this cause, and let all your words be spoken by Talents, that authority may see that you doe not feare it. Let our example

Payne Eſſiſt. to F.

encourage you; and your example encourage us. It was to this purpoſe manfully ſaid by one of you. *Our zeale to Gods glory, our love to his Church, and the due planting of the ſame, in this horebeaded age ſhould be ſo warm, and ſtirring in us, as not to care what adventure we give, and what cenſure wee abide,* &c. *The Ieſuites and Seminaries their diabolicall boldneſſe (he wrongs us in his epithet, ſeing he followes our way) will cover our faces with ſhame.*

Its true indeed, ſo long as we are not able to reſiſt, and make our party good by ſtrength of hand, there is a neceſſity that we muſt ſuffer, and like the poore man *we muſt uſe entreaty:* for its our wiſdome to conſider the times, when we may be forward, and when not. Hence it was that in the dayes of Queene *Elizabeth*, when your power was little, that your anſwer was humble: for when the State and Clergie of England charged your ſort of men with *faction, ſedition* and *ſchiſme*, and iudged that if you were curbed betimes, you would bring *deſolation* on Church & policie: your anſwer was mild (though it might ſeeme to your adverſaries mixt with paſſion, pride and Hypocriſie) while you ſaid, *Peace was by thoſe men kept inviolate, for which of them ever dealt diſorderly, or tumultuouſly? who ever of them in word or deed gave out any juſt ſuſpicion of unpeaceable dealing? nay have they not in their miniſtery, in their examples, ſtriven for peace more then any?* for this cauſe (as your *Buch.* wel obſerveth with us) *Paul* writing to the Romans ſayes, *Let every ſoule be ſubject to ſuperior powers.* *Paul* (ſaies hee) *writes this in the infancy of the Church, there were but few Chriſtians then, not many of the rich, or of ability, ſo as they were not ripe for ſuch a purpoſe, as if a man ſhould write to ſuch Chriſtians as are under the Turke, in ſubſtance poore, in courage feeble, in ſtrength unarmed, in number few, and generally ſubject to all kinde of injuries: would he not write as Paul did? So as the Apoſtle did reſpect the men he wrote unto, and his words are not to be extended to the body, or people of a Common-wealth, or whole city.* And he tels us in this caſe, if *Paul* were alive, and did ſee wicked Kings raigning in Chriſtian Common-wealths, *Paul* would ſay, *That he accounted no ſuch for Magiſtrates: the would forbid all men for ſpeaking unto them, and from keeping them*

Practiſe of Prelates.

Buch. de jure reg. pag. 50.

Ibid. pag. 56.

Ibid. pag. 57.

them Company, he would leave them to their subjects to be punished: neither would he blame them, if they accounted no such longer for their Kings. And as *Bellarm.* sayes, *Talis consensu omnium potest, imo debet privari suo dominio. Si hoc priscis temporibus minus factum sit, causa est, quia deerant vires.* Such a King by the consent of all may, yea ought to be deprived of his dominion: if this in old times was not done, the cause was, because they had no strength. *Bel. lib. 3. de Pont. cap. 7.*

But now the times are changed. *Hac ætas alios mores postulat*, this age requireth other manners, spare not big words, *tell the head its sick, presse the people to armes too, strike the Basilisks veine, sing nothing but that will cure the plurisie of your estate.* Your strength is great, yea so great that you professe your selves invincible, *if you keepe unitie and veritie*, that is the doctrine which I congratulate. Covenanters informe for Defensive. S. 2.

Certainly, you have an invincible Generall, your *head Lesley.* And as there is great union between us in doctrine and practice, so I perceive a great similitude between both our Generals, our *Ignatius Loyola*, and your *Lesley.* As for their birth, I cannot compare them, for neither *Maphæus*, nor *Ribadeneira*, nor *Valderana*, nor *Becanus*, nor any that writes his life, tels us, who were his parents; so that it seems *pater Ignatii fuit dubii generis, & mater communis generis.* As for his life, we deny not the truth, for as our own writers say of his *childhood, satis constat eum in pueritiâ, profanos admodum hausisse spiritus.* It is certain, that in his childhood he drew in very prophane spirits. And in *adolescentiâ, militiæ ac vanitati esse dedit.* In his childhood, he gave himself to wars and vanity, being ready to serve any man for his pay, so that our *Ribadeneira* calleth him *Vanitatis vile mancipium*, A vile slave of vanity. *Maphæus in vitâ Ignat. lib. 1. cap. 2.* *Ribad. de vit. Ignat. lib. 1. c. 7.*

But at *Pompeiopolis* being couragiously fighting, his leg was sore wounded, and it was good for him, for *accepto hoc luculento vulnere, ad Deum conversus est.* Having gotten this great wound, he was converted to God, and his leg was amended; but yet, *non nihil claudicavit, sed honestè, & quod ambulandi moderatione tegeretur.* He halted a little, but decently, and which he might hide by the moderation of his walking, and became the founderand generall of our holy *Becan.* *R bad lib. 4. cap. 18.*

Society. All this hath hapned to your Generall, in his childhood, youth-hood, in his wound, in his halting, in his converſion, and becomming Generall of your holy Society. But from the halting of both our Generals, the *Anticovenanters* draw an ominous concluſion, that wee are like Iſrael in the daies of *Elias*, *halting betweene God and Baal, and running crooked courſes*. But notwithſtanding of our halting, they ſhall find that we can run, and give them matter enough to worke on. They have ſo ſenſibly found it ſo, in our Generall *Ignatius*, that all in our Church, who are not of our order, wiſh that he had never beene hurt in warre, that ſo he might have there remained, and never turned home, where in peace he doth more hurt, then he did in warres; for abroad (ſay they) hee fought againſt the common enemy, but at home, he raiſeth and foſtereth ſeditions and treaſons againſt Princes. The ſame do many of you ſay of *Leſley*, and apply that to him, which our men ſpeake of our *Loyola*.

Quam bello plus pace noces, & ad otia verſus
Crudelis animum vertis ad inſidias.
Scotia & in media conſcripto milite regnas,
Diraq; (fraterno nomine) bella geris.

But I pray you, as we have followed our Generall *Ignatius* his command, by yeelding up our ſelves, our wils and judgements *cæcâ obedientiâ*, as he did require; ſo do you with your Generall, in following his command and directions. And ſo much rather I require this of you, becauſe I heare, there are
1 Cor. 11.18. *diviſions among you, and partly I believe it, for there muſt be alſo hereſies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifeſt*. But you may amend this breach, conſider wiſely, where the diviſion is likelieſt to bee, and prepare your ſalve for every mans ſore, and your bait for every mans humour. If it be among the Nobilitie, then extoll and praiſe what they have done, tell, that all mens eyes are upon them, as the noble reformers of the Land; let them heare of the noble facts of their progenitors, commend perſeverance, and ſhew them what cowardize is, and what infamie will follow to yeeld to their Prince. Put them in remembrance of that noble ſentence
Tolet. lib. 5 c. 6 of ours. *Si nobilis invaſus, poſſet vitam ſervare fugiendo, non tene-*

cenetur (si inde infamiam contrahat) fugere, sed hostem occidere potest. If a nobleman being invaded, may save his life by flying, yet he is not bound to fly, if he contract infamie thereby, he is rather bound to kill his enemie, much lesse to yeeld. Let the women in the streets continue to prefer those young *Davids* ten times above the Prince, and still pray for them. And If there be any of the Nobilitie of greater worth, tell them, that the whole businesse depends upon them, and that you will doe all by their direction, and that they shall be made immortall, by recording their acts to posterity to come.

If you feare division in the ministery, it's easie to help that, keep those under who are not zealous in your cause: let them not be acquainted with your mysteries, nor be chosen Commissioners for assemblies: if there be any matter of importance to be commended to the people, send either conjunctly or severally, some zealous ministers to their pulpits, to rouze up the multitude, and put the like edge upon such cold-rise ministers, and if they become not more zealous, put them in feare of Deprivation.

If you feare any division among the Commons, it's likely that some of them have seene the Kings extraordinary favour toward them: but you ought to be carefull, that they see not the Kings Proclamations; and if any have seen them, let them be perswaded that his Majesties Proclamations have this only end, to divide them, and then to destroy them; and that all other faire promises shall have no reall performances. Be not you behind the King in your promises to them also, and howbeit you have an hundred thousand pound to take of them, yet be not suddaine, but by delaying, put them in hope that you will never exact it; For if you goe now to exact it, it will make them repine and grumble, and say, instead of *Salomons* easie yoke, we are oppressed with *Rehoboams* heavie burdens, and so make a rupture, and returne every man to his tent, and in the end submit themselves to their *Salomon* againe. And especially let the ruling Elders command their ruled Elders or ministers, to be diligent in season and out of season, to keepe the multitude in their zealous humour, for if they doe not unceassantly blow upon them, they will be like

mare

mare mortuum, and never be moved. Cease not to possesse them with an evill opinion, of all that oppones themselves to your courses either by word or writing, make them believe that all, that writ against your confederacie, are unnaturall enemies to their Countrie, and that it is not against your faction which they doe, but against Church and Kingdome; and suffer no man to deny this to be a Nationall quarrell, or to call it a Faction, and all that refuse to cast in their lot with you, call them the cursed inhabitants of *Meroz*, that will not help you against the mightie.

And let all that follow their King, be called the *Kings faction*, according to the example of your progenitors, who called all that followed the Queen, *a faction*, which they would punish, as *Traitors*; *whensoever God should put the sword of justice in their hands*, that is, when they should find themselves able to depose the Queen, (as they did) and represse her Subjects. There is another thing which I desire you to remember to try where those ministers, that have beene most opposite to our doctrines and practises, have had their residence in the ministerie, that you may place able and zealous men for our cause in those same places, to build up the people which they have destroyed. This worke is well begun by you, in bringing *Hendersone* from the Countrie, to the town of *Edinburgh*, *Dikson* to *Glasgow*, and *Rhetorfort* and *Blair* (who could not get libertie to vent our Doctrine elsewhere) to S. *Andrews*. and in particular let them bee carefull over the students in Colledges, *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu*.

Knox. hist. of the Church of Scotland. pag. 364.

And as for those, who like the men of Succoth, and the inhabitants of *Meroz*, refused to joyne with you, its well that you did not take the *thornes of the wildernesse*, *and bryers to teach them*, to beat downe their houses, this may content them, albeit you restore not their goods, which you tooke while you plundered their houses. Though they be busie seeking it, yet you are not bound according to our rules, *Nullus tenetur cum vitæ periculo, aut famæ rem alterius restituere, sunt enim vita & fama nobili oris ordinis quam res*. No man is bound with the danger of his life or good name to restore another man his goods againe, for life and a good name are of a more noble

Tolet. lib. 5. cap. 37.

noble order then goods are: for albeit there be no danger of your life to reſtore every man his owne, yet your name is not ſafe, for if you reſtore to each man his goods againe, at leaſt it will be a *tacite* acknowledging of your robberie, and that is hurtſome to a good name. But ſome ſay, that it is a matter of conſcience, to reſtore a mans goods againe, which is better then a good name, yea the way to recover a good name: but I refer this to the ſchooles.

I have ſome matter of expoſtulation with you, but I will be loth to do it now, who have begun to congratulate with you for that ſweet *Harmonie* both in *opinions* and *reaſons* which is of late grown up amongſt us. Rome was not builded in one day, we muſt not look that at the firſt you can receive all our doctrine, though in a ſhort time you have profited much. *Et vos converſi convertite fratres*. Maſter *Cant* could preach at *Glaſgow*, in what need England and Ireland ſtandeth of the Covenant, *where ſome have their eares cut for the defence of the truth, and are groaning under the tyrannie of the whore of Babel*. And ſince ſo it is, you ſhould pitie the blindneſſe of thoſe people, who have not a learned man in England or Ireland to lead them, but the blind leadeth the blind; But I perceive you are not negligent herein, your Ironicall preterition is moſt notable, while you ſay, *We do not meddle with the Kirks of England or Ireland, but recommend to them the patterne ſhowne on the Mount*. But what patterne of the mount is this I pray you? is it the Patterne ſhowne by you on *Dunce hill*, called by your preachers *mount Sion*, with an armie againſt the face of your King? if it be ſo, its a worthie patterne that requireth imitation. But if the Patterne on the mount, be the *Patterne of your diſcipline*, you doe well herein, to imitate your progenitors: for they were deſirous to have *Epiſcopacie* throwne downe in England as you are now, or as wee are deſirous; for their pride is ſo great, that the leaſt of them ſayes, that they have no more dependance from the Pope, then he from them: that their calling and place is of as great *power* and *authoritie*, as his is within his *dioceſſe*, thus limitating the *univerſall* Biſhop, as if hee were onely a *Dioceſian*. Yea they are not aſhamed to ſay, that all the Popiſh biſhops are but *equivocally* called Biſhops, and *univocally* are the Popes

Anſwer to the Marqueſſe of *Hamiltons* declaration.

ſlaves: for as they have their power and authority from the Pope, ſo are they tyed to his obedience by oath. *Romano pontifici veram obedientiam ſpondeo ac juro.* I promiſe and ſweare to give true obedience to the Pope of Rome. So that as the Biſhops of *Apulia* ſaid, ſo (ſay they) muſt all popiſh Biſhops ſay, *Nos nihil aliud ſumus præterquã creaturæ & mancipia pontificis.* Wee are no other thing but the creatures and ſlaves of the Pope. And ſince the Pope will be only univerſall Biſhop, and all the reſt depending on him, as their head, they tell our Biſhops in the words of *Gregory*, *Si unus univerſalis eſt, reſtat ut vos epiſcopi non ſatis.* If there be one univerſall Biſhop, it remaineth that you are no Biſhops. Therefore I ſay, ſeeing your Biſhops are greater enemies to our Hierarchie, then your ſelves are; you ſhall want no help that we can afford, to have them removed. I have ſeen your *Gibſons* letter to *Coppinger*, *Hackets* fellow labourer in England: Where he ſaies, *The beſt of our Miniſters are moſt carefull of your eſtate, and had ſent for that effect, a Preacher of our Church this laſt Summer* (1590) *of purpoſe to confer with the beſt afflicted miniſters of your Church, to lay down a plot, how our Church might beſt travell for your reliefe.* But you do as well to ſend libels and informations, as to goe in your own perſons.

Form. Iura. Bulla Pii 4.

Carol. Molin. conſil. ſuper Concil. Trid. n. 21.

Greg. lib. 7. ep. 70.

But before I proceed any further either in my congratulation or exhortation, I muſt relate unto you what I heard of that Anticovenanter, of whom I ſpake lately, when he read, *That you* did recommend to the Church of England and Ireland *the pattern on the mount.*

„ This (ſayes he) brings to my remembrance a prettie Apo-
„ logie written by *Melanchthon*. *Vulpecula cauda amiſſa, reliquis*
„ *vulpibus callidè perſuaſit, ut ſimiliter & ipſa caudas reſecarent,*
„ *ne ſola turpis & deformis in ſuo genere videretur.* A fox having
„ loſt her taile, craftely perſwaded the other foxes, that they
„ would likewiſe cut off their tailes, leſt ſhe her ſelfe alone,
„ ſhould ſeem the foul and deformed beaſt of al that kind. Thus
„ is their caſe who recommend their pattern to others. But cer-
„ tainly, while they thus labour to remove *epiſcopacy*, as unlaw-
„ full, and ſet up a *new diſcipline* as the only lawfull, in Chriſts
„ Church, they do differ as much from their firſt Reformers,
„ as wiſemen do from mad-men. For it is certaine, that even

Cal-

„ *Calvin* who firſt invented this diſcipline, did it not becauſe
„ he judged *Epiſcopacie* antichriſtian, or unlawfull, much leſſe
„ did he recommend *his diſcipline* as a pattern to others: but it
„ was only meere neceſſity which moved him, for if thoſe
„ who were biſhops at the *Reformation* would have forſaken
„ the Pope *as their head*, and embraced the *reformed Religion*,
„ their *calling* had never beene called in queſtion, as appeareth
„ by the words of *Calvin* to Cardinall *Sadolete*. *Talem nobis*
„ *hierarchiam ſi exhibeant, in qua ſic emineant Epiſcopi, ut* *Calvin. Epiſt. ad*
„ *Chriſto ſubeſſe non recuſent, ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pen-* *Card. Sadolet.*
„ *deant, & ad ipſum referantur: in qua ſic inter ſe fraternam ſo-*
„ *cietatem colam, ut non alio modo, quam ejus veritati ſint colli-*
„ *gati, tum vero, nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, ſi qui erunt,*
„ *qui non eum reverenter, ſummaq; obedientia obſervent.* If they
„ doe bring unto us ſuch an *Hierarchie*, wherein the Biſhops
„ ſhall ſo be preferred, that they refuſe not to ſubmit themſelvs
„ to Chriſt, that they alſo depend upon him as their onely
„ head, and have their relation to him, in which Hierarchie
„ they may ſo keepe brotherly ſocietie among themſelves, that
„ they bee not otherwayes knit together, but by his truth:
„ then ſurely if there ſhall be any, that ſhall not ſubmit them-
„ ſelves to that *Hierarchie reverently*, and with the greateſt *o-*
„ *bedience* that may bee, I confeſſe there is no kinde of curſe
„ whereof they are not worthie. A ſore ſentence for a covenan-
„ ter. *Beza* likewiſe himſelfe hearing that ſome did offend at
„ the *innovation of diſcipline* (which neceſſity put upon them)
„ and thought that he and his colleagues did let out the ſame
„ as a patterne for other Churches, to follow, was not a little
„ diſpleaſed, and told that it was never their intention to pre-
„ ſcribe ſuch a diſcipline, where the old might be kept, hee
„ wiſheth them to keepe it ſtill. *Fruantur igitur illo qui volent* *Beza de grad.*
„ *& poterunt.* Therefore let them enjoy Epiſcopal government *miniſt. cap. 25.*
„ who deſire and may do it: and ſayes in that ſame place, *Ab-*
„ *ſit ut tunc ordinem temerè aut ſuperbè reprehendam.* God forbid
„ that I ſhould raſhly or proudly reprove that order, and ther-
„ fore in the 21. chap. of the cited booke, having ſpoken of
„ the tyranny of the *Popiſh Biſhops* did hinder the reformati-
„ on, he tels us, that he doth neither mean *Proteſtant Biſhops*,
„ nor yet ſet forth their diſcipline, as a *Pattern* to be followed.

„ *Neq; tamen hujus tyrannidis omnes archiepiſcopos, ſeu epiſcopos*
„ *hodie vocatos accuſamus: quæ fuerit enim hæc arrogantia? imò*
„ *cunctos, ſic hodie appellatos (modo ſanctiſſimorum illorum E-*
„ *piſcoporum exemplum imitentur, & tam miſere deformatam do-*
„ *mum Dei, ex verbi divini regulâ inſtaurent) ut eccleſiæ Chri-*
„ *anæ fidos paſtores, cur non agnoſcamus, & omni reverentiâ*
„ *proſequamur? nedum ut (quod falſiſſimè & impudentiſſimè*
„ *nonnulli nobis objiciunt) cupiam uſuam eccleſiæ ſepuendum*
„ *noſtrum peculiare exemplum præſcribamus.* And yet wee
„ doe not accuſe all, that are this day called Archbiſhops or
„ Biſhops, of this tyrannie: for what arrogancie were
„ that? yea, why ſhould wee not acknowledge, and honour
„ with all reverence, all that are this day ſo called, as the
„ faithfull paſtors of the Chriſtian Church: ſo being they
„ would imitate the example of thoſe moſt holy Biſhops in
„ the primitive Church, and reform by the rule of Gods word
„ the deformed houſe of God? much leſſe that we ſhould pre-
„ ſcribe to any Church in any place, *our peculiar example to be*
„ *followed*, which moſt falſly, and moſt ſhamelesly ſome object
„ unto us. So the authors of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion declare
Auguſtan. Confeſſ. Artic. 14. „ ingeniouſly, that it was not any diſlike at *Epiſcopall govern-*
„ *ment*, but the crueltie of *Popiſh Biſhops*, who did by all means
„ hinder the reformation of Religion, which did diſſolve that
„ government and Canonicall policie, *quam magnopere cupie-*
„ *bamus conſervare*, which we earneſtly deſired to preſerve.
„ And therefore, ſeeing *popiſh Biſhops* were in place then, and
„ *Proteſtant Biſhops* could not be ſet in their place, they decla-
„ red to the world in their confeſſion, that (notwithſtanding
„ it was removed) they did approve it, and were ſo free from
„ having the fault imputed to them, that it did not remaine
„ among them; that they were moſt willing it ſhould bee
„ continued, if thoſe *Popiſh Biſhops* would forbeare their per-
„ ſecution, and turne *Proteſtants*, and ſtudie to advance the
Ibidem. „ *Reformation.* For they ſay, *Hic iterum teſtatum volumus, nos*
„ *libentur conſervaturos eſſe eccleſiaſticam & canonicam poli-*
„ *tiam, ſi modo Epiſcopi deſinant in noſtras Eccleſias ſævire,*
„ *Hæc noſtra voluntas, & coram Deo, & apud omnes gentes*
„ *ad omnem poſteritatem excuſabit nos, ne nobis imputari poſſit,*
„ *quod epiſcoporum authoritas labefactetur.* Here againe, wee

„ will

„ will have it teſtified, that we ſhall willingly keep ſtill the
„ Eccleſiaſticall and Canonicall policy, if ſo be the Biſhops
„ will forbeare to rage againſt our Churches. This is our will,
„ and it ſhall excuſe us before God, among all Nations to all
„ poſterity, that it cannot be imputed to us, that the authority
„ of Biſhops is decayed. And againe, in that ſame confeſſion *Ibid de poteſt. Eccleſ.*
„ they ſay, *Sæpe jam teſtati ſumus, nos non ſolùm poteſtatem Ec-*
„ *cleſiaſticam quæ in Evangelio inſtituta eſt, ſummâ pietate ve-*
„ *nerari, ſed etiam Eccleſiaſticam politiam, & gradus in Eccleſia*
„ *magnopere probare, & quantum in nobis eſt conſervare cupere:*
„ *non detractamus authoritatem Epiſcoporum, modò non cogant*
„ *facere contra mandatum Dei. Hæc voluntas liberabit nos coram*
„ *Deo, & judicio univerſæ poſteritatis, ne judicemur rei hujus*
„ *ſchiſmatis, quod initio excitatum eſt injuſtâ damnatione doctri-*
„ *næ Lutheri.* We have already oftimes teſtified, that we, not
„ onely with the greateſt piety that can be, do reverence that
„ Eccleſiaſticall power inſtituted in the Goſpell, but alſo do
„ very much approve the *Eccleſiaſticall policie, and degrees in*
„ *the Church*, and deſire to keep it, as much as we can: We do
„ not refuſe the *authority* of Biſhops, if ſo be they doe not
„ compell us to do againſt the Command of God. This our
„ will ſhall deliver us before God, and in the judgement of
„ all our poſterity, that wee bee not judged guilty of that
„ *Schiſme*, which at the beginning was raiſed by the unjuſt
„ condemning of the Doctrine of *Luther*. O how farre do
„ thoſe Covenanters differ from thoſe Reformers! How can
„ they cleare themſelves before God; the Reformed Churches,
„ and the ages to come, who have made this *great Schiſme?*
„ They not onely have *condemned*, that which all reformed
„ Churches do *commend*, but alſo ſtudy to hatch the cockatrice
„ egge, and bring forth ſerpents, *Schiſmes* and *Rebellions* in
„ other calme Churches, who live at peace. Looke how farre
„ theſe Reformers did tender *Epiſcopacie*, as much do theſe
„ Covenanters hate it: It is not ſufficient to them, to have
„ thruſt from them without any cauſe their Biſhops, (except
„ it be that the Biſhops have carried themſelves to them, as *1 King. 1. 6.*
„ *David* did to *Adonijah*. *And his father did not displeaſe him at*
„ *any time, in ſaying, Why haſt thou done ſo?* by which too gen-
„ tle dealing, they gave them occaſion to riſe up againſt them)

„ but they themselves must be ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπον, busie Bishops in „ another mans Diocesse; yea, be *universall Bishops*, within the „ Kings Dominions, by their sensless (yet malicious) libels „ and letters, to his Majesties good Subjects in *England* and „ *Ireland*, labouring to produce the like *Disorders* among them, „ that they should not remaine alone filthy and deformed in „ the Church of God. Howbeit, all good and learned men (e- „ ven among those, who have not *Episcopall government*) doe „ declare their dutifull and reverent respects to Bishops; yet, „ for the accomplishing of their bad ends, it hath beene their „ chief labour, first and last, to make Bishops most odious and „ contemptible to all men.

„ Thus *Cant* at *Glasgow* in his Sermon (because the Bishop „ of *Glasgow* did dwell in the Castle, neare to the Cathedrall „ Church) told the people, that *Satan had his dwelling among* „ *them, and Antichrist had a nest among them: and cried, pull* „ *downe, pull downe Antichrists nest*, with many other expressi- „ ons, more worthy of the *speaker*, than of the *Hearers*; there „ wanted nothing to draw the multitude to the perpetrating „ of a mischief against that old reverend Father, but that God „ suffered not any to be a head to the furious multitude.

Sions Plea, pag. 196.

„ Thus they have too obsequiously observed the direction „ of their book entituled, *Sions Plea*: Where it's said, *Mini-* „ *sters and Magistrates mast labour, and cause others to labour for* „ *an holy hatred of Prelates, and their brethren, with an holy ha-* „ *tred, to dash the braines of the Babylonish Prelacie against the* „ *stones*. And according *to Luke* 19. 27. *But those mine enemies,* „ *that would not that I should raigne over them, bring hither, and* „ *slay them before me. And strike that Hazael in the fifth rib, yea,* „ *if father or mother stand in the way, away with them. Strike the* „ *Basiliske veine, for nothing but this will cure the plurisie of this* „ *our state*. This is a notable policie, and as well learned by „ the Covenanters, as taught by their masters, and have made „ such proficiencie herein, that they stand in more need of a „ *bridle*, than of a *spurre*; they have by lies and calumnies with „ the changeable multitude so prevailed, that they have not so „ much as any being among them, but as they say, *Have swept* „ *the dirt and dust out of Gods house, and sent them to the land of* „ *Nod*. But yet, Thanks be to God, notwithstanding of

„ their

„ their throwing ſtones at them, they have not daſht their
„ braines againſt the ſtones, and for *Hazaels* fift rib, they have
„ onely ſmote a Biſhops coach-horſe. And as for this *Baſiliske*
„ *veine*, which they would have ſtriken, it's of a higher na-
„ ture, than the killing of Biſhops; for it's borrowed from
„ the Ieſuites, who by that phraſe, underſtand the killing of
„ Kings and Princes: Wherefore one of them ſaid, *Erratum* *Carol. Scriban.*
„ *valde fuiſſe in feſto Bartholomei, quòd ſecta non fuerit vena*
„ *Baſilica, id eſt, quòd parcitum fuit regi Navarræ, & principi*
„ *Condenſi.* It was a great fault, that in the feaſt of *Bartholomew*
„ the Baſiliske veine was not ſtriken, that is to ſay, that the
„ King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condie* was let alone.
„ But they have done as much as they can, to ſtrike at this
„ Baſiliske veine through the Biſhops ſides. For I remember,
„ when at the beginning of theſe diſorders many did ask, why
„ they did make the Biſhops their adverſaries, and complaine
„ upon them, ſince they did never require any thing, but by
„ warrant of his Majeſties authority, whom they ought to o-
„ bey; it was uſually anſwered, *Some man muſt be whipped, and*
„ *rather the Biſhops, than any.* God knowes how foule a Com-
„ menter this might ſuffer. And as for thoſe calumnies, filthy
„ ballads, which theſe men ſet out to the diſgrace of them-
„ ſelves, rather than of thoſe whom they hate; they deſerve no
„ other anſwer, than that of the Prophet. *The vile perſon will* Eſay. 32. 6.
„ *ſpeake villany, and his heart will worke iniquity, to practiſe hypo-*
„ *criſie, and to utter errour againſt the Lord, &c.* And in parti-
„ cular, this ſentence doth juſty appertaine to that vile per-
„ ſon, *Alexander Sempill*, who for whoredome, drunkenneſſe,
„ and all kinde of Licentiouſneſſe, hath not a ſecond in *Scot-*
„ *land, and now by meanes of whoriſh Women, is brought to a piece* Prov. 6. 26.
„ *of bread*, and extreme poverty, having nothing left but a de-
„ crepit body, an intoxicate braine, and railing tongue: ſo that
„ I wonder, who could be ſo baſe, as to lend him their hand to
„ write for him that fooliſh, (but ſeditious) ballad, called the
„ *Biſhops bridles*. And I marvell more, that the Covenanters
„ have made this *pattern of wickedneſſe*, to be their fitteſt man
„ to preſent to *England* and *Ireland*, their *pattern on the Mount:*
„ for they print nothing there now without the approbation So he prints
„ of one *Johnſon*, Clerke of their aſſemblies. This *AS* or himſelfe *AS.*

„ *Alexander*

„ *Alexander Sempill* is so beastly and apish, that he can finde
„ no other *matter* or *subject* for his ballad, but to allude to one
„ *Rew's* preaching on *Balaams* asse, which they make to be the
„ Church of *Scotland*, that have thrown off the Bishops, their
„ riders: and therefore must selltheir bridles. This Preacher
„ *Rew*, did not put shame enough upon that Church, but this
„ *AS* must second him, and continue its shame. That of the
„ Wiseman is fit for them, *A whip for the horse, a bridle for the*
Prov. 26. 3. „ *Asse, and a rod for the fooles back.*
„ But since they delight in this comparison, and will have
„ their Church to be an Asse, and the Bishops their riders; I
„ shall not displease them so to call it. But let them remember
„ that the Bishops rode upon this Asse meekly, dealing with
2 Cor. 4. 21. „ them, *not with the rod, but in love, with the spirit of meekneese.*
„ But the Lay-Bishops have throwne them off, and now ride
„ so *furiously* like *Jehu*, that we complaine with the Psalmist.
a Psal. 66. 12. „ a *Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads, we went through*
b 2 King. 4. 24. „ *fire and water:* they b *drive and go forward, and slacke not their*
c Ier. 2. 24. „ *riding:* they study to make her *a wilde* c *Asse used to the wilder-*
„ *neese, that snuffeth up the Wind at her pleasure*, and is so farre
„ drawne away in the wilderneese, that his Majesty hath ta-
„ ken more paines to finde her out, and bring her from her
1 Sam. 9. 3. „ wandering, than *Saul* did in *seeking his fathers asses*, he
„ sought his Fathers asses but three dayes, but his Majesty hath
„ sought this asse three yeares. There is no question but she
Esa. 1. 3. „ would be found and returne, for the *asse knowes her Masters*
„ *crib:* but her riders will not suffer her, perswading her that
„ his Majesty will miserably handle her: though they assured-
„ ly know themselves, that his Majesty will do no more harm
„ to her, than the Lion did to the asse, whereon the seduced
1 King. 13. 28. „ Prophet rode, *the Lion did not teare the Asse*, the Scripture
„ sayes, but killed the seduced rider. This is the onely feare
„ they have, not for the asse, but for the riders, who have justly
„ provoked the *Lions wrath, as the messenger of death*; and to
Ier. 22. 19. „ be *buried with the buriall of an asse, drawn and cast forth beyond*
„ *the gates of Jerusalem.* Here the Anticovenanter would
have proceeded, but I not being desirous to trouble my selfe in
dispute with him, cut him off with your words. The Cove-
nanters are exhorted not *to be moved with remonstrances, were*

they

they never ſo ſpecious, but ſubmit themſelves obediently to follow their leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furniſhed with courage and counſell, for the good of his Kirke and Kingdome. But he anſwered me, *The leaders of this people cauſe them to erre, and they that are led of them, are deſtroyed.* Covenanters inform. for Defenſive. §. 4. Eſa. 9. 16.

But leaving him, I returne to my exhortation. If you cannot perſwade men to *your patterne on the mount*, at leaſt labour to poſſeſſe them with the opinions and doctrines, which you have received of us. Eſpecially this is the duty of *Blair* and *Livingſton*, to water the good ſeed which they have ſown in ſome of the hearts of ſome of your countrey-men in the North part of Ireland: and by their frequent exhortations and letters, to perſwade them to grow, and be fruitfull in thoſe matters. Eſpecially let them, by *fearefull threatnings* of Gods judgements, affright them from taking that *unlawfull oath* which eſtabliſheth the Kings *Supremacie*, and is urged by my *Lord Deputy*, (to whom, I confeſſe, his Maſters honour is more deare, than the Apple of his eye) ſo *violently*, that he will ſuffer no man to vilipend it, but will have them ſweare ſuch an oath, that they ſhall never *take armes againſt their King, nor proteſt againſt him, but to obey his royall commands*. Whereby thus violently he hath put your covenant out of credit among the Scots there, except you provide ſome remedy.

I heare that not only *Blair* and *Livingſton*, but that *Rhetorfort*, and *Dickſon* alſo, have lent their helping hand, and have written a learned refutation of that *Oath* to be taken by the Scots there. I am ſorry that I did not ſee it, that I might have increaſed my congratulation. Did you ever ſee the two *Apoſtolike briefes*, which our holy Father *Paulus* 5. ſent to the Catholikes in England, that were urged with the *ſame Oath*, that is preſſed upon your brethren now? Or did you ever read *Bellarmines* letter to *Blakwell?* if you did, they have helped you well in that matter, I am ſure. *Bocanus* tels us the ſumme of all which the Pope and Cardinall did write. *Uterque negat ſalvâ conſcientiâ præſtari poſſe, hoc juramentum à rege propoſitum, quia abnegarent fidem Catholicam.* They both deny, that that oath preſcribed by the King, can be taken with a ſafe conſcience, becauſe they would deny the Catholike Becan. diſſid. Ang.

Faith. They say, you say the same, onely you add many fearfull judgements upon both the *exacter* and *takers* of the same. And therefore you may say of them that take this oath, as *Becanus* doth, *Hoc faciunt ad extremam pacem & politiam conservandam, quæ pluris ab illis, quàm fides & religio æstimatur, ideóque politici potiùs quàm Christiani appellandi sunt.* They do this that they may preserve outward peace, which they esteeme more than of Faith and Religion; and therefore they ought rather to be called *Politicians* than *Christians*. For no man will grant the Kings *Supremacy*, *excepto Sacellano, & quibusdam aliis adulatoribus regiis.* Except the Kings Chaplaine, (Bishop *Andrewes*) and some other *Court Parasites*. And here by the way I must tell you a notable untruth of that *Bishop Andrewes*, in his dispute against *Bellarmine*: he holds that the *Puritans* do willingly take the oath of *Supremacy*. But albeit he was πενταγλωσσος, having five tongues, yet with none of his five tongues could he speake true in this, as our *Becanus* proveth from no lesse than the testimony of his owne Master K. *Iames*, in his *Basil. Doron*. But I finde one *Richardus Thomsonus in Elencho refutationis Torturæ torti*, defending *Andrewes*, and reconciling him with his master, by telling, that the King spake of Scots *Puritans*; and the Bishop of *English Puritans*. Whether this may satisfie or not, I leave it to a farther inquirie.

Becan. refut. Torturæ torti cap. 1. parad. 1.

If the forlorne brother of our society *Abernethie* hath done our Church any service among you, in the farthering and promoving this your happy *return* to us; he hath sowell deserved, that there is hope for him to be received of us againe. Howbeit his crimes were so ugly, that we did exclude him from our Church and orders; yet *sufficient to this man is the punishment inflicted upon him by many.* For he hath reconciled himselfe (as the people of *Gath* feared *David* would do) with your *heads* and *hearts*: in enlightening your braine with the knowledge, & your hearts with the love of many principall points of our doctrine. Exhort him to continue unto the end. *I endeavoured my selfe to have come unto you, I desired to see you earnestly, and would have come unto you once and againe, but Satan hindered me.*

2 Cor. 2. 6.

2 Thes. 2. 17.

Though in this my *Congratulatorie Epistle*, I have sometimes inserted my *counsell* and *exhortation* unto you, let not this displease you; as if I thought you deficient herein, or that

that you had need of ſpurs, who run with born-down-head. For all my exhortations are nothing elſe, but a pleaſant repetition of your doings, and a ſympathizing expreſſion of our conjunct approbation thereof. So that my *recommendation* of that to your practiſe, which you are doing, is ſo farre from inſimulating you of negligence, that it is rather a *commendation* of your actions, according to that of the Poet.

Qui monet ut facias, quod jam facis, ipſe monendo
Laudat; & hortatu comprobat ipſe ſuo.

Salute all our friends, and eſpecially at your night-meetings for devotion, ſalute the ſiſters with a holy kiſſe. To whom you doe but your duty when you acknowledge your cauſe much obliged unto them, and that in thoſe your *Eſthers* and *Judiths* your work had but a ſmall beginning: and when men durſt not reſiſt the beginnings, it's wiſely obſerved by you, that *God moved the ſpirit of thoſe holy women to ſcourge the buyers and ſellers out of Gods houſe, and not to ſuffer the ſame to be polluted with that foule Booke of Common Prayer.* Thoſe holy Matrons who waſt themſelves with *Faſting*, have deſerved ſo well at your hands, that you ſhould exhort them, (as *Paul* did *Timothy*) *to take a little wine to comfort them:* and to incourage them to proceed zealouſly in your cauſe, for they are the weaker veſſels, and wine will ſtrengthen them. Read 1 *Eſdras* chap. 3. ver. 21. Where it is ſaid thus. *Wine is exceeding ſtrong, it makes every heart rich, ſo that a man remembreth neither King nor Governour, and it maketh to ſpeak all things by talents. And when they are in their cups, they forget their love both to friends and brethren, and a little after draw out ſwords,* &c. Albeit this be a paſſage out of *Apocrypha*, yet your practiſe ſayes it is not falſe.

Our women here carie a ſiniſtrous opinion of your women, whom they call *virago's* and *monſters* of women, a diſgrace to their ſex, man-like-women, and a new kind of *Hermaphrodits*; becauſe of their violent and turbulent carriage (as they call it) in abuſing all men that are contrary minded, they ſay,

Non metuunt leges, ſed cedit viribus æquum,
Quámque lupi ſæve plus feritatis habent.

That is, they feare no Lawes, but equity giveth place to force, and they have more ſavage cruelty in them than the very Wolves. But our Ladies are miſtaken, not knowing that

this proceeds from Zeal. *Impetus hic, ſacra ſemina mentis habet.* This violence of theirs hath the ſeeds of a holy minde. And they being free citizens, ought to have full freedome: their tongues are their owne, what Lord can them controll? If *Tyberius* when he was railed upon in the city, tooke it patiently, ſaying, *In libera civitate oportet linguam eſſe liberam.* Why ſhould not *free Subjects* in a *free* kingdome, have *free* tongues, and *free* hands too? eſpecially of *women*, when religion is in queſtion. *Guilielmus Poſtellus* ſet out a book, which he entituled: *Of the victory of women.* I would have the like done by ſome of you, eſpecially by him, who gave his ghoſtly bleſſing to thoſe *manfull* women (who ſhew their valour againſt their adverſaries, in beating them and their books out of Gods houſe) *My bleſſing light upon you all my deare Birds all.* Break not off your nocturnall devotions, and aſſembling together for the better, and not for the worſe. But doe it more ſecretly than *Andrew Leſley*, of whom they ſay, that hee forſooke *Ireland* to go to the *Covenant*, the firſt fruits whereof was, to forſake *his wife*, to joyne himſelfe with *an harlot.* The good old Matron of the holy Siſters of *Edinburgh*, did more cunningly cover her daughters infirmity of the fleſh, who (as ſhe ſaid to her ſiſters at their meetings) had fallen in a *holy fornication* with a brother, not out of *Luſt*, but *Love*: and therefore decreed, that ſhe ſhould not confeſſe it before the congregation, leſt the *Goſpell ſhould be ſcandalized, and that it was better to fall in the hands of God, by ſwearing that ſhe did not know the man, than to fall in the hands of men, by confeſſing her carnall fall.*

R. A.

Tolet lib. 3. cap. 9.

We ſay well to this purpoſe, *Mentiri in confeſſione, non ſemper eſt peccatum mortale.* To lie in confeſſion, is not ever a mortall ſin: but it was a pitie, that ſhortly after ſhe had ſworne, her ſwelling belly belied her; and yet, here the *ſhame* and *ſcandall* of your devout profeſſion was more than your ſin; for that kind of ſin is but a *weakneſſe* and *infirmity*, and if it be acted for *good ends* and *intentions*, it is no ſin at all. Therfore, it's well ſaid by a father of our Society. *Si quis pollutionem deſideraret ob bonum finem, ſcilicet ſanitatem, vel ad levandas tentationes quibus interdiu affligitur, non eſt peccatum.* If any deſire, &c.

Idem lib. cap. 33.

for a good end, to wit, for *their health*; or to put away the *tentations*, wherewith they are troubled all the day long, it's

not

not a ſin. And therefore it's thought, when thoſe holy Siſters are longeſt out at their night-devotions, they are much amended in their health the next day. And we do alſo hold, * *Adulterium inter minora, crimina cenſendum eſſe*, that Adulterie is to be eſteemed among the ſmaller crimes; † *& eſſe aliquam honeſtam fornicationem*, and that there is ſome *honeſt fornication*. Or (as that Matron called it) *holy fornication*.

* *De judiciis l. 2 Decret. 6 Cap. Et Clerici.*

† *Cauſ. 32. q. 1. Cap. Hac ratione.*

But this is very ominous which I heare, that many huſbands will not ſuffer their wives to frequent thoſe night-meetings as they were wont to do. That is a fearefull preſage, that that *order* and *ſocietie* ſhall be cryed down, except they get it confirmed by aſſembly. For we had a Societie of Siſters called, *Congregatio Ieſuitiſſarum*, ſuppreſſed by our holy Father Pope *Vrban* the 8. anno 1631. *Quia novum ordinem inſtituerunt aſſumpto Jeſuitiſſarum nomine,---- quæ per multa opera ſexus, ingenii imbecillitati, & modeſtiæ muliebri, virginali preſertim pudori minimè convenientia, attentarunt & exercuerunt.* Becauſe they did inſtitute a new order, aſſuming the name of Ieſuitiſſes; who have attempted and exerciſed many works, which do not become the weaknes of their ſex and ingenie, nor the modeſtie of women, and eſpecially moſt unbeſeeming virginall ſhamefaſtnes. The like caſe may befall your ſocietie, if it be not prevented; if your *Leckie* and his *Collegues* be not authorized, it's to be feared that the ſocietie of thoſe Siſters ſhall get a down-fall.

Bulla Vrban. Papæ 8. Romæ edita. 1631.

I have heard of the great controverſie betweene him and ſome miniſters of *Sterling ſhire*, and that the matter was debated in your aſſemblie, but what was done, I was not fully informed; only I heard of your moderation, that you thought it not fit, to diſcharge his new *ſocietie* by *act* of aſſembly, but by way of *counſell*, but he rejects your counſell, and though hee hath not an *ordinary calling*, yet he tels that he hath an *extraordinary calling* from God, and bids you, *behold it in the fruits of his labours*.

But I am moſt of all affraid for our ſelvs, though we have an ordinary calling and authority for our *order*. We are ſo hated both by friend and foe, at home and abroad, that wee are daily perplexed, eſpecially ſince the adnulling of the *Jeſuitiſſes* order: upon which ſome Poet (by way of propheſie

phesie, as is thought) made those verses, with a *fiat*.

Fœmineus sexus sociis immixtus Jesu
Transcendit sexus munia fœminei.
Non tulit hanc labem VRBANI *vigilantia Pape,*
Suppressit Socias, mox Socios; premet.

We have suffered already great hurt in divers places, being hunted to and fro, as if we were Malefactors. And I doubt not but you know how weake we are in *France*, we dare not deny the King of *France* his *Supremacie*, and must acknowledge his
Prov. 8. 15. Dominion to be independent, in respect of men, and that the King holds his Kingdome by vertue of, *Per me réges regnant, by me Kings raigne.*
2 Tim. 4. 14. The Doctors of the Vniversity of *Paris have done us much evill, the Lord reward them according to their workes.* They have condemned some of the workes of our Father *Becanus* in their Vniversities, and have published the same to the world, whether the Pope would or no; and are also become *Court-Parasites*. And their chiefe labour is by their doctrine in contradiction to you and us, to corrupt all especially Noblemens children, that come to their Vniversities: and at least once a yeare, make every one of them under their hands, to professe the Kings independent power and authority. Therefore now our holy *League* is wholly dead, *and death*
Psal. 49. 14. *feeds upon it in the grave*, and we are become vile, and herein are turned *Saduceans*, to deny the *resurrection* of our holy *League*, or any such *insurrection*, so long as such doctors (as the *Sorbonists*) shall thus infect the land, and make noble and ignoble such Court Parasites. But your case is far better than ours at this time: for you have put away from your Vniversities such as withstood you, and have placed such men in your Vniversities of *Glasgow* and S. *Andrewes* and *Edenburgh*, who will cause the schollers to drink such a full draught of our doctrine, that they shall vomit out all which your adversaries taught them. We are not so happie, our enemies prevaile daily against us. But yours are dying, especially the Archbishop of S. *Andrewes*, to whom we wished no better death, nor more honourable buriall, then that Martyr and brother of our Societie *John Ogleby* got, whom he caused to be hanged at the Crosse of *Glasgow*, because he stood to the defence of our doctrine, which he brought within the compasse of *Treason*, by the lawes of your

your kingdom, which I pray you to abrogate. D. *Baron* that great enemy of ours, is alſo dead (as they ſay) in perſecution. At this we do both rejoyce, as if we had found a great ſpoyle.

We had alſo great credit (according to our hearts deſire) at *Conſtantinople* and among the *Galathians*, and divers parts in the Eaſt, but by the meanes of the King of great Brittane, &c. his ambaſſador, and *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, (who is of the Religion of the Church of England, and diſclaims the Popes juriſdiction, even as the Biſhops of England do.) We are all baniſhed the Turks bounds, and a Shipfull of us was ſent home to *Italy* from *Conſtantinople*. Since wee cannot get libertie to remain in the Eaſt, we purpoſe to come to you in the Weſt, where there is neither Patriarch nor Biſhop to trouble us, as *Cyrillus* did at *Conſtantinople*.

But if King *Charles* follow the direction of his Father King *Iames* our *common enemie*, your caſe will bee little better then ours was at *Conſtantinople*. For after he hath directed his ſon to beware of *Puritans, as moſt peſtilent fellowes, both in Church and policie, whom neither the Kings favours and bountie*, nor their own promiſes and oaths can make faithfull and loyall, but being *above meaſure arrogant*, they belch out nothing but *calumnies and ſeditions*, and contrary to the Word of God follow their owne *dreames and conceits*, as the only rule of their conſcience, he ſayes moſt pathetically. *Teſtor illum magnum Deum (nec teſtamentum condenti fas eſt mentiri) nunquam inter montanos aut limitaneos noſtros latrones, majorem ingratitudinem, aut perfidiam reperiri poſſe, quam inter hos phanaticos nebulones: nec patere, ſi pacatè vivere decreveris, ut hi eadem tecum patria fruantur, niſi forte patientiæ experiendæ ergo, ut Socrates vixit cum Xanthippe.* I take the great God to witneſſe, as if I were making my teſtament (and it is not lawfull for him that maketh a teſtament to lye) that there can never be more unthankfulneſſe, or perfidiouſneſſe found among our High-land and bordering robbers, then among thoſe brain-ſicke villaines. Neither do thou ſuffer them to enjoy that ſame countrey with thee, if thou purpoſe to live peaceably, unleſſe perchance, for the exerciſe of thy patience, as *Socrates* lived with *Xantippe*. *Baſilic. doron. pag.* 148.

This is a dreadfull adviſe, and our caſe is ſo miſerable, that it is our lot and deſtinie to be like *Iſmael the wild man*, *whoſe hands*

hands were against every man, and every mans hands against him.
Gen. 16. 12. But let us not be dismaied, not our hearts melt, nor our hands be faint; but let us joyne hand in hand together, (*Virtus unita fortior.*) And we shall speake with the enemy in the gate. *And the righteous shall be delivered out of trouble, and the wicked shall come in his stead,* Prov. 11. 8.

I have many other things to write to you, which I will delay til I have the opportunity to write a second Epistle, which shall be, so soone as I heare what fruits this first Epistle shall produce: Which, I pray you cause to be printed among you for your common good, because I could not get many copies sent to you, being so far from you beyond sea. If AS's *Bridles* was thought worthy to be printed by your authority, in contempt of the Bishops; why may not this my Epistle be printed, for the edification of your Societie. Let it not offend you that I have not railed in this my Epistle against authority in Church and policie: for our Society hath been so oft reproved for railing that I doe now begin to forbeare it, for the honour of our Order, neither will we permit infamous Pasquils longer to come forth, and it were good that you did so too, and let us speak home to the purpose, convincing our adversaries with evident reasons; and make their errours and heresies known to the world, rather then to vent our spleen against them with calumnies; This doth but open the mouth of our adversaries; but that will stop it: this makes disgrace return upon our selves, but the other, makes us gracious. If we raile, when we should reason, we get no answer, but *increpet te Dominus*. But when we reason, without railing; we beget in them *dissentiendi pudorem. & veritatis timorem.* A bashfulnes to dissent from us, and a reverence of the truth; which in time, will bring forth a profession of it.

Farewell.

From my study at *Basiletopolis*
The first of January,
1640.

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